
00083390

THE
ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BOMBAY
TOWN HALL, BOMBAY-400 001.

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 04 April, 2016

ANCIENT PARALLEL WALLS,
supposed to have been erected
for a
Place of Amusement.



Copied from an Engraving in the Archæologia Americana.

LETTERS

FROM

NORTH AMERICA,

WRITTEN

During a Tour

IN THE

UNITED STATES AND CANADA.

By ADAM HODGSON.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR HURST, ROBINSON, & CO.

AND

A. CONSTABLE & CO. EDINBURGH.

1824.


00083390

DIRECTIONS ' O THE BINDER.

Ancient Parallel Walls, Frontispiece to Vol. I.

Ancient Fortification on the Bank of the Little Miami Riv.., to face page 420, Vol. II.

ERRATA TO VOL. I.

Page 28, line 4, *for* unversal, *read* universal.
40, line 9, *for* magniola, *read* magnolia.
45, line 28, *for* gangs, *read* gang.
68, line 6, *for* sate, *read* sat.
137, line 14, *for* insiduous, *read* insidious.
151, line 9, *dele* and, in a few cop..es.
187, line 14, as *dele*.
338, line 23, *for* Canandagua, *read* Canand. lgua.
347, line 1, *for* knew, *read* know.
353, line 6, *dele* comma after Ontario.
357, line 5, *for* ascending, *read* descending.
360, *for* 1822, *read* 1820.
370, *for* intersecting, *read* interlocking.
372, line 2, *after* those of, *read* the.
373, lines 8, 9, *omit* " "
378, line 5, *after* broken, *read* ine.
379, line 11, *for* pleasant, *read* peasant.
393, line 7, *for* appears, *read* appear.

ERRATA TO VOL II.

Page 5, Note, *for* Red Orkneys, *read* The Orkneys
6, line 5, *for* must, *read* much.
19, line 14, *dele* new.
24, line 18, *for* peculiar, *read* particular.
30, line 26, *dele* before he.
55, line 18, *for* to, *read* from
72, line 6, *for* particularly, *read* peculiarly.
91, line 17, *for* received, *read* receives.
94, line 16, *for* string, *read* strong.
96, line 27, *for* Abbott, *read* Abbot.
116, l.. 17, *for* letter to Mr. Silliman, *read* letter to ——
118, line 8, *for* churches, *read* characters.
120, line 8, *for* travelled, *read* rambled.
122, line 16, *dele* it.
127, line 34, *for* discourses, *read* discourse.
130, line 22, *for* lady: her, *read* lady, and
139, Note, *for* Kentucky, *read* Nantucket
140, line 7, *for* slanted, *read* sounted
142, line 24, *for* appaling, *read* appalling.
143, line 13, *dele* period after preferment, and substitute a comma.
" " *for* your *read* our.
155, line 2, *for* Piscataqau, *read* Piscataqua
" line 6, e *omitted*.
189, line 2, *insert* and *after* Europe.
306, line 11, *for* peasant, *read* peasantry.
396, line 9, *for* strte, *read* state.
431, line 11, i *reversed*.

TO

The Memory

OF

THE LATE HONBLE WILLIAM LOWNDES,

MEMBER OF CONGRESS FOR SOUTH CAROLINA,

THE

FOLLOWING VOLUMES

ARE

RESPECTFULLY AND AFFECTIONATELY INSCRIBED

BY

THE AUTHOR

PREFACE.

HAVING been for some years extensively engaged in the American Trade, I visited the United States with commercial views, at the close of 1819, and remained sixteen months on the other side of the Atlantic.

In the course of that time, I travelled nearly 8000 miles, comprehending in my route, the States of Maine, Vermont, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Tennessee, and Upper and Lower Canada.

Being much interested with the objects which I saw, and the society with which I mingled,

in the course of my Tour, I communicated my impressions, from time to time, to the different members of my domestic circle, in all the confidence and careless freedom of unreserved and intimate correspondence.

On my return home, I found that my letters had been preserved and collected, in order to be copied, if I should give permission. On looking them over, I was induced to believe, that those on the subject of emigration, contained some particulars which might be useful at that time, when so many persons were leaving their country to seek subsistence in the Western wilds; and under this impression, I sent three or four letters to a respectable periodical publication, in which they were inserted,—and, agreeably to my express injunction, without my name.

A faint hope, that a few sketches of the state of society in the United States, and especially of the best society, might contribute to dissipate those prejudices, with respect to America, which I observed with much regret

to prevail in Great Britain; and might possibly tend, in some degree, to induce a better tone of feeling between the two countries, led me, at a later period, to transmit several more to the same periodical work.—When the series was completed, I received solicitations, from different quarters, to republish them in a separate volume; but an unwillingness to appear in a character so foreign to my ordinary avocations, and a reluctance, without the prospect of greater utility than I could venture to anticipate, to sacrifice so much of the scanty leisure of an active life as would be absorbed in preparation for the press, determined me to decline it. I was confirmed in my decision by the conviction that much of the interest with which some of my friends had perused the original letters, was derived from the near view of the interior structure of American society, presented to them by minute delineations and the details of the social and domestic circle, which, however proper for a familiar letter, could

not be exhibited to the public, consistently with that delicate regard to private feeling which I was most solicitous to observe.

Early in the present year, however, I found that those letters which had appeared anonymously in the periodical work, to which I have alluded, had been republished in America, in a very imperfect form, with my name, and with some little additions or omissions, which, while they did not materially alter their sense, imparted to them, in one or two instances, a tone and spirit which I should be unwilling to adopt.

And as I had received an intimation from the London booksellers, whose application to reprint my Letters, I had declined, that if they should appear in America, they might be republished from the American copy, without my permission, and with my name, I resolved immediately to prevent such an imperfect publication; and of two evils, to choose the least—that of publishing them myself.

I immediately began to revise them, amidst numerous interruptions of the little leisure which I could command, (leisure much curtailed by long and unavoidable absence from home,) and I have added to them a few notes, which are extracted principally from the blank leaves of my manuscript copy, into which I had transcribed any particulars which struck me in the course of my reading, as calculated to illustrate the principal subjects which had interested me in America.

Under these circumstances, the following Work is presented to the public; and had I had the remotest idea, that the communications of private friendship would ever meet the public eye, I would have endeavoured, by a collection of more minute details, on many subjects of general interest, to send it forth with less slender pretensions to public approbation.

For botanical or mineralogical researches I had neither leisure nor information; and although I contemplated with the most

intense interest, the magnificent scenery of the Western World, my attention was directed rather to the study of man than of nature; and especially to the manners, customs, and institutions of a country, respecting which I had read such contradictory accounts. Conscious, therefore, that the following Letters will be found deficient in information on many of those points which a *professed* traveller might be expected to elucidate, I am yet tempted to believe, that as some part of the country through which I travelled, and some of the Indian tribes which I visited, are little known in England—and that as an intimate and extensive intercourse both in Washington and in the commercial cities, afforded me a very favourable opportunity of forming an estimate of American society and manners—their publication will not be without interest to some of my countrymen.

If the statements which I have made, and the impressions I have communicated in the following Letters, (which have no pretensions

whatever (of a literary nature,) shall contribute, in the slightest degree, to dissipate error and prejudice; to cherish those more liberal and friendly feelings, which are at length beginning to subsist between England and America, and which it is most important to the general interests of humanity, should ever connect two countries standing in such an interesting relation to each other, and the world at large,—I shall derive from the reflection a purer gratification than any literary distinction could possibly impart.

LIVERPOOL, 1st MAY, 1821.

CONTENTS

OF VOLUME THE FIRST.

LETTER I.

PAGE

Voyage—Passengers—Occupations at sea—Arrival at New York... 1—6

LETTER II.

Washington—Visit to the Secretary of State, Secretary of the Treasury, and Secretary at War—Drawing-room at the President's—Society of Washington—Senate and House of Representatives—Congress—Visit to Mount Vernon—Colonization Society. ..... 7—17

LETTER III.

Journey from Washington to the South—Mode of Travelling—Alexandria—Fredericksburg—Richmond—Face of the Country—Log-houses—Black Population—Petersburg—Taverns—Cultivation of Tobacco—Land Proprietors in Virginia—Oak and Pine Lands—Raleigh — Fayetteville — Clearing of Land—Girdled Trees—Pine Barrens—Collection of Tar and Turpentine—Frog Concerts—Swamps—Arrival at Charleston ..... 18—42

LETTER IV.

PAGE

Visit to a Rice Plantation—Negroes—Live Oaks—Society of Charleston—Habits of the Carolinian Planters—Yellow Fever —Sale of Slaves ..... 43—48

LETTER V.

Society at Washington—British Chargé d'Affaires—Party at Mr. L——'s—Mr. and Mrs. Monroe—Mr. J. Q. Adams— Mr. Crawford—Mr. Calhoun—Mr. Clay—Mr. Forsyth— Mr. Pinckney—Mr. Rufus King—Visits at Charleston ..... 49—96

LETTER VI.

Prison at Charleston—Murderer of Dr. Ramsay—Mrs. Ramsay —Journey from Charleston to Savannah—Augusta—Visit to a Planter—Journey to Mobile—Negro Congregation—Milledgeville—Fort Hawkins—Indian Agency ..... 97—116

LETTER VII.

Creek Indians—Night-scene in the Forest—Indian Town of Co-se-ta—Ouchee Bridge—Conquered Tribe of the Ouchees. 117—126

LETTER VIII.

Fort Bainbridge—Lewis—Government of the Creek Indians— Mackintosh—Green Corn Dance—Manners and Customs of the Indians—Tecumseh—Lime Creek—Point Comfort— Swamps—Flooded Creeks—Fort Dale—Indian Path—Murder Creek—Reservation of Public Lands for Schools—Hurricane—Alligators—Fire-flies—Blakely—Mobile ..... 127—150

LETTER IX.

Manners at Mobile—Fever—Gulf of Mexico—Bay of St. Louis—Lake Borgne—Pont-Chartrain—New Orleans—Sail up the Mississippi—Natchez..... 151—168

LETTER X.

PAGE

Scenery near Natchez—Harper's Ferry—Opelousas—Attacapas —Troes—Rivers ..... 169—183

LETTER XI.

Society in the vicinity of Natchez—Slavery—Cultivation of Cotton—Peculiarities attending Slave-cultivation..... .... 184—210

LETTER XII.

Visit to a Plantation—Deer hunt—Departure from Natchez—Choctaw Indians—Mourning for the Dead—Ceremony of the Pole pulling—Indian Dance and Ball Play—Tattooing—Mode of Killing Cattle among the Indians, and of Summoning the Herds from the Neighbouring Woods—Indian Guide ..... 211—225

LETTER XIII.

Missionary Settlement at Elliot—Rattlesnakes—Indian Tumuli 226—240

LETTER XIV.

Half-breed Choctaw, on the borders of the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations—Ancient Customs of the Indians—Indian Families; Panther Family, Racoon Family, &c.—Indian Marriages and Religious Opinions—Attachment of some old Choctaws to the British—Path through the Woods—Kentucky Trace—Description of the House of a half-breed Chickasaw Indian—Indian Sepulture ..... 241—260

LETTER XV.

Boundary Line between Mississippi and Alabama—Bear Creek —Big Spring—Hospitality—Inns in newly settled Countries —Tennessee River—Muscle Shoals—Flourishing condition of the recent Settlers—Huntsville—Cumberland Mountains. 261—273

LETTERS, &c.

Letter I.

New York, 3d November, 1819.

I WROTE a few lines last night by a vessel for Ireland, which will probably have reached you before this, to mention my safe arrival here after a short and pleasant passage of 32 days. Our party on board the Courier consisted of 24 persons: English and American, male and female, of every possible variety of age, temper and pursuit; and I think it no slight encomium on so miscellaneous an assembly, confined within such contracted limits, and exposed to the inconveniences which must ever attend a voyage, to say, that our harmony never suffered a moment's interruption.

My spirits began to fail me when I parted with ———; and when I got up in the middle of the first night to walk the deck, and take another view of the little island that contains all my earthly treasures, I found we were changing our course, and going through the North Channel.

The following day we had a fine view of Donaghadee and Carrickfergus Bay, Fairhead, and the Mull of Cantire, and about sun-set saw the Giant's Causeway, at the distance of perhaps 15 miles. On the 4th we saw land for the last time, the Irish coast fading in the distance.

The wind continuing unfavourable, we were compelled to keep further to the northward than we wished, and for some days had cold uncomfortable weather, and most of us were unwell. For the first ten days I never went below, in the day-time, but since that time have in general been unusually well. We reached the banks of Newfoundland on the 20th October, and were fortunate enough to have a fine clear day for crossing them, instead of the foggy weather which usually prevails. We saw eight or ten French and American vessels at anchor fishing, the first we had seen for a fortnight; and the sight afforded us a

degree of satisfaction which you will not readily conceive. The Bank, which lies perhaps 50 miles to the south of the island, is about 380 miles long, and 75 or 80 broad, and of a very irregular shape. The depth is from 30 to 40 fathoms, and the fish lie at the bottom. The water on the Bank is usually several degrees colder than at the distance of a few miles from the edge, and I found, indeed, that our captain depended much on his thermometer to indicate our approach to any shoals. After crossing the banks, we had two severe gales, in which we were very near losing our masts, the vessel at one time being in imminent danger from being taken aback; but they were of short continuance, and succeeded by beautiful autumnal days, on which the sea was like a mirror. Occasionally the vessel scarcely moved during the whole day; but the extreme beauty of the sea and sky reconciled me to our slow progress. One day, when I was sitting reading in the boat, which hung a-stern, a little bird perched upon my knee, exhausted by its long flight. We were about 120 miles from Halifax, in Nova Scotia, and were visited the same day by a hawk, which perched upon our mast. Once, previous to reaching the Banks, and once afterwards, we were gratified

with an excellent view of the whales and grampuses which frequent those seas. The former were said to be 50 to 60 feet long, and came close to the vessel, following us for half a mile, heaving their gigantic bulk out of the water, and forming fountains, apparently 15 or 20 feet high, with the breath of their nostrils. Their path was often visible when they could not be seen, reminding me forcibly of the passage in Job, "He maketh the deep "to boil like a pot; he maketh a path to shine "after him; one would think the deep to be "hoary." One day we saw a sword-fish glide past the vessel; and porpoises became too common to disturb our reading or working parties on deck. These parties would often have amused you, if you could have seen them at their various pursuits on deck or in the cabin. Reading was the general resource in the morning, and cards, chess, and back-gammon in the evening. We had not many fine star-light or moonlight nights, though a few very beautiful ones. I was at first struck to see the great bear so little above the horizon, which reminded me rather unexpectedly how far I was receding from you to the southward. Our chronometer and many of the gentlemen's watches were kept by London time; and towards the conclusion

of our voyage, a difference of four or five hours in the time of our meridian and yours, led us to fancy our English friends as retiring to bed as we were sitting down to tea. On Sunday, we had always part of the Church service and a sermon; at which many of the crew were present.

On Monday night, 1st November, we retired to bed at 12 o'clock, confident of seeing land the next morning; and the next morning, at 6 o'clock, we dropped anchor off Sandy Hook, 22 or 23 miles from New York. I could hardly believe that I was really in that hemisphere,

"Where first his drooping sails Columbus furl'd,
"And sweetly rested in another world."

We were enveloped in a thick fog, and I walked the deck impatiently for an hour or two before the sun partially dispersed the mist. The Jersey shore, about half a mile distant, was the only land we saw during the day, and that but at intervals; it appeared low and brown, but it was land, and it was America. and for the moment that was sufficient.

To our great disappointment, we found the tide would not allow us to reach New York that night, but a few of us went up in a pilot-boat, as it was dusk. I must not attempt to

describe this magnificent harbour, nor our sensations on finding ourselves really in the New World, blessed once more with the sight of the abodes of men, of trees which still retained their leaves, and houses and churches similar to those we had left behind us in Europe. To enter into our feelings, it would be necessary to be cut off for a time from all intercourse with any other world than the little vessel which is carrying you across the trackless deep, and to rise morning after morning with no other objects before you than the sea and sky; and I imagine such sensations as we experienced can be felt only once.

The following will give you a little idea of our track:—

8th	Oct.	Lat.	52°	32′	N.	Long.	20°	40′ W.
15th	„	„	44	44		„	33	58
22d	„	„	42	58		„	57	—
29th	„	„	42	30		„	66	26

Letter II.

Washington, 24th January, 1820.

My letters from New York and Philadelphia will have given you a general idea how I have been passing my time, and will have conveyed to you a more favourable impression of American society than you have been accustomed to receive.

Since my arrival here I have been almost constantly engaged; and owing to the kindness of my excellent friend, with whose name and character you are already acquainted, I now feel very much at home in this singular metropolis. He has been so kind as to take me to call on the Secretary of State, the Secretary of the Treasury, and the Secretary at War, whom I have since met in society, either at his house or their own, and whom I will describe to you particularly when we meet. A few evenings since, he also took me, with Mr. Crawford, the Secretary of the Treasury, with whom I had been dining at his house, to the President's, who resides in a large handsome house, very pleasantly situated on the banks of the

Potowmac, and suitable for the chief magistrate of a powerful republic. We passed through a spacious saloon into the drawing-room, where we had some difficulty in making our way to Mrs. Monroe and the President, to both of whom strangers are presented in due form. The drawing-room was too crowded to admit of our sitting down, but overflowed into another room, where there were sofas for those who preferred a quiet tête-a-tête to the bustle of a well-dressed crowd. The appearance of the company was respectable, but my friend remarked that there were more persons than usual who appeared as if they had just arrived from the country, and that he had been introduced to above twenty new members of Congress.

In many respects, Washington reminds me very much of a watering-place. Scarcely any of the members reside here, except while Congress is sitting, and then they are in lodgings. The ladies, who accompany their fathers and husbands to see a little of the world, are situated very much as they would be at Harrowgate or Cheltenham, and there are usually many strangers in pursuit of entertainment. It is the residence also of the foreign Ministers, and the heads of the

departments of government. All this, you will readily believe, gives rise to much dissipation. On some of the evenings, there are routs at the houses of one or other of the ministers of the *Corps diplomatique*, and the rest are generally anticipated by two or three invitations.

All, however, complain, that this routine becomes very dull before the session closes, as they meet almost the same persons every evening, and the sober ones will seldom go out above two or three times a week. Families who are acquainted with each other, often board together at the large taverns, and the members who are bachelors for the time being, form messes at the private boarding-houses, where they are often in very close, and sometimes very shabby, quarters. I think quite the majority of the members go to the *capitol* in hackney coaches; and as the ground has been covered with snow, I have several times seen a sledge and four, with eight or ten Senators from Georgetown, in the neighbourhood. The vicinity of Washington is extremely beautiful, but of the eligibility of the situation for the capital of the United States there is great difference of opinion.

St. Louis, on the Missouri, is by some supposed to be destined to be the future capital, as it will probably be almost the centre of those states which may be expected one day to compose this gigantic confederation. Washington, may be said to be rather the site of a city that is to be than an actual city. It is laid out on an extensive scale, but the streets are for the most part unbuilt, or chequered with houses of the shabbiest description. Still, however, it has some magnificent features, while the romantic scenery which surrounds it, and which is visible from almost every part of it, redeems much of the deformity of its scattered and uncomfortable aspect.

The principal street, Pennsylvania Avenue, has a noble appearance, and is a mile long, with one wide and two narrower avenues of poplars, which conceal from the view the ill assorted houses on each side. On a lofty eminence, at one end, stands the capitol, and at the other, on a commanding, though less elevated position, the President's house.

I have hitherto spent nearly every morning at the Senate, or House of Representatives. These beautiful chambers are calculated to make an impression very favourable to the

dignity of the deliberative assemblies which occupy them, and the general appearance of the members does not materially impair it. Many of them have the appearance of English country gentlemen, and a considerable proportion of them are lawyers, who carry in their faces those marks of intellectual exertion which seem to plead some apology for having sacrificed little to the graces. Some of the members from the Western country, indeed, would look a little queer in our House of Commons. The proceedings both of the Senate and House of Representatives seem to be conducted with great order and decorum, and with a courtesy and attention to the feelings of "honourable gentlemen," which I was not prepared to expect. The style of their best speakers is fluent, forcible, and perspicuous; and in cases where it is not possible that their arguments should be sound, they seldom fail to be specious and acute. My friend, who would, I believe, be considered the first authority on the subject, told me that he considered their two prominent faults to be, a proneness to engage in dissertation, and to pursue the investigation of a difficult question, which had been started incidentally in the course of the debate, without ascertaining whether its solution was absolutely necessary to the original

discussion. He regards the frequent change of members in the House of Representatives as inimical to the acquisition of that knowledge, or the formation of those habits so desirable in a deliberative assembly, and deprecates the custom into which they have fallen, of referring every thing to committees, as tending in effect to leave to the decision of a few, many questions which ought to be argued, upon general principles, by the House at large. It is usual for ladies to attend when any interesting debate is expected; and the question of the admission of slavery into Missouri, which has lately been agitated, attracts all the beauty and fashion to the Senate. On this occasion, through what has been considered the over-complaisance of the Vice-President of the United States, who is the chairman of the Senate, ladies have been admitted on the floor; but this is not to be allowed in future. The inquiry every morning last week in the fashionable circles of Washington, was, "Does Mr. Pinckney speak to-morrow?" and during the two days which he occupied the attention of the House, it was almost impossible to secure a place.

This is the first session in which Congress have sat in the new capitol, erected on the site of the former one, which was burned down

by the British. I never could admit the pleas urged in justification of our proceedings at Washington. It would have been much more magnanimous to have been satisfied with marking the date of the arrival and departure of the British troops on the walls of the capitol. I have often felt something more than embarrassment while receiving civilities in houses, from which the inhabitants had been driven with precipitation, if not by real danger, at least by well-grounded alarm.

I lately had the gratification of a visit to Mount Vernon, the celebrated seat of General Washington. The road lay over a bridge across the Potowmac, said to be a mile long, from which the view down the river is very beautiful. We left Alexandria a little to our right, and a few miles from Mount Vernon came to the summit of a hill, from which we caught the first glimpse of the woods which surround this venerable mansion. Shortly afterwards, we entered the woods belonging to the estate, through which, at intervals, and at the distance of a few hundred yards from the road, we were gratified by a view of the glassy expanse of the Potowmac, and the varied scenery of its opposite shore. About a mile from the house, we passed by a porter's lodge, in a kind

of forest park. We approached the house by a winding ascent through natural plantations of oak and cedar; and on sending in my letter to Judge Washington, I was shown into his study. He is the nephew of General Washington, and one of the judges of the supreme court. After sitting with him for a short time, he sent a servant to show me the gardens and the tomb, both of which seemed much neglected.

The tomb is on the bank of the river, at a short distance from the house, and if I had not been told, I should have supposed it was an ice-house. It was shaded by a few oaks and cedars, which bore evident marks of the solicitude of pilgrims to carry away some relics. I will not attempt to describe my feelings while musing over this interesting spot.—I am sure you have often visited it in imagination, and will have anticipated my sensations when bending over the ashes of this illustrious patriot, and paying my tribute of veneration to his intellectual and moral worth.

On my return from the tomb, the Judge walked about the grounds with me to show me the view, which is as beautiful as wood-land scenery, and a noble river can make it, in the absence of mountains. The river, into which

you may throw a stone from the front door, is here very broad, and you may trace its windings for many miles. When the British ships of war passed Mount Vernon, on their way to Washington, they came to anchor, and the crews showed strong demonstrations of their respect for this place. The Judge said, he felt no alarm; he was confident their generous feelings would not allow them to molest it. He said, that while the vessels lay in the neighbourhood, he and his family almost lived out of doors to see what was going on; having their meals in a summer-house on the bank of the river, from which, with a telescope, they saw the engagement with the fort which opposed their passage up the river, and with the lower one which attempted to intercept them on their return. A most formidable battery has since been erected, at a short distance from Mount Vernon, and another on a point about one mile and a half from this city, formed by the junction of the two branches of the Potowmac.

On our return to the house, our conversation turned principally on the Colonization Society, of which Judge Washington is the president. He appears very sanguine as to its success, and devotes much of his time to the promotion of its objects. The most interesting light in which

he seems to regard it, is as an instrument in the conversion of the Africans to Christianity, which he conceives will ultimately be effected most completely by native preachers; and he considers the Colonization Society as an important link in the chain of those secondary causes which are to establish the kingdom of the Messiah in every quarter of the globe. The first vessel sails from New York in a few days. Judge Washington represents the free negroes who are going out as the first settlers, as moral and intelligent, especially those of the Methodist or Baptist persuasion.

I find much diversity of sentiment as to the advantages to be ultimately expected from this society, even amongst the warmest opposers of slavery; some of them conceiving that the views of the society can hardly be carried into effect, and others, that their entire success would only rivet more strongly the chains of those who are still in bondage, and perpetuate an evil which they believe would be eradicated by the increasing influence of a free negro population, advancing in intelligence and respectability, in the immediate vicinity of their less happy brethren.

I have seen a petition from the blacks themselves, grounded on this argument, and stating,

that they believe the object of the Society to be the perpetuation of slavery.

This is not the only misconception they entertain of its views; some of them think it is intended to decoy them to sea, and then to sell them to the Spanish colonies; and others, that they are to be made slaves in Africa.

Others again, who believe in the benevolent intentions of the Society, are unwilling to exchange a tolerable degree of present comfort for remote and contingent advantages, especially as there is a prevalent idea among them, that they may be considered intruders in Africa by their negro brethren, I have talked with some of them on the subject; and while I was with Judge Washington, some of his black people were asking my servant what was his opinion of the scheme, and whether it was intended to compel them to go. The Judge informed me, however, that more were desirous to go than could be accommodated; and if experience shall prove the change to be a happy one, I have no doubt this misconception of their brethren will quickly vanish.

Letter III.

Charleston, North Carolina, Feb. 19th, 1820.

The celebrated Missouri question continued the great subject of discussion, both in and out of Congress, as long as I remained at Washington. The debates, both on the constitutional difficulties involved in the question, and on the expediency of the proposed restrictions, were very interesting; the former, as developing the spirit of the constitution, and requiring a constant reference to the original principles of the confederation; the latter, as exhibiting the views of the most enlightened men in the country with regard to the probable effects of the admission of slavery into Missouri.

I left Washington on the 24th ult. proceeding only to Alexandria, six miles distant, where I slept, and where I had been not a little surprised to meet Joseph Lancaster a few days before. I set off the next morning at three o'clock, in what is called the mail-stage, the only public conveyance to the southward, and a wretched contrast to the excellent coaches

in the north. It is a covered waggon, open at the front, with four horses; and although it was intensely cold, I was obliged to take my seat by the driver, in order to secure a view of the country during the remainder of the day. The road lay across woody labyrinths, through which the driver seemed to wind by instinct; and we often jolted into brooks which were scarcely fordable. Leaving Mount Vernon, which I had previously visited, to our left, we reached Occoquan, twenty-three miles, to breakfast. Occoquan is romantically situated on a river of the same name, which winds below masses of rock, which my companion compared to those of the Hot-wells at Clifton, but they did not appear to me to be so high. We then proceeded by Neapsco, Dumfries, the Wappomahsie River, Acquia, Stafford, and Falmouth, to Fredericksburgh, a small town on the Rappahannock, which we crossed by moonlight. Our journey this day was fifty miles in sixteen hours. The next morning, at three o'clock, we left Fredericksburgh, and passing the Bowling Green, Hanover Court-house, and the Oaks, reached Richmond at seven o'clock, sixty-six miles in seventeen hours. At Hanover Court-house, at least 150 horses were standing fastened to the trees, all the stables being full, as

it was a court day. This gave me a good opportunity of examining the Virginia horses, which appear to deserve their reputation.

After we left Alexandria, the country assumed an aspect very different from any which I had before seen. For miles together the road runs through woods of pine, intermingled with oak and cedar; the track sometimes contracting within such narrow limits that the vehicle rubs against the trees; at others expanding to the width of a London turnpike-road, yet so beset with stumps of trees that it requires no common skill to effect a secure passage. On emerging, at intervals, from forests which you have begun to fear may prove interminable, the eye wanders over an extensive country, thickly wooded, and varied with hill and dale; and the monotony of the road is further relieved by precipitous descents into romantic creeks, or small valleys, which afford a passage to the little rivers hastening to the Atlantic. Every ten or fifteen miles you come either to a little village, composed of a few frame houses, with an extensive substantial house, whose respectable appearance, rather than any sign, demonstrates it to be a tavern, (as the inns are called,) or to a single house appropriated to that purpose, and standing alone

in the woods. At these taverns you are accosted, often with an easy civility, sometimes with a repulsive frigidity, by a landlord who appears perfectly indifferent whether or not you take any thing *for the good of the house.* If, however, you intimate an intention to take some refreshment, a most plentiful repast is, in due time, set before you, consisting of beefsteaks, fowls, turkies, ham, partridges, eggs, and if near the coast, fish and oysters, with a great variety of hot bread, both of wheat flour and Indian-corn, the latter of which is prepared in many ways, and is very good. The landlord usually comes in to converse with you, and to make one of the party; and as one cannot have a private room, I do not find his company disagreeable. He is, in general, well informed and well behaved, and the independence of manner which has often been remarked upon, I rather like than otherwise, when it is not assumed or obtrusive, but appears to arise naturally from easy circumstances, and a consciousness that, both with respect to situation and intelligence, he is at least on a level with the generality of his visitors. At first I was a little surprised, on enquiring where the stage stopped to breakfast, to be told, at Major Todd's;—to dine? At

Col. Brown's—but I am now becoming familiar with these phenomena of civil and political equality, and wish to communicate my first impressions before they fade away.

Between the villages, if such they may be called, you see few habitations, and these are almost exclusively log-houses, which are constructed as follows:—trunks of trees, about a foot or a foot and a half in diameter, generally with the bark on, are laid on one another, indented a little at each end, to form a kind of fastening; their length determining the length and width, and their number the height of the building. The interstices are usually filled with clay; though sometimes, especially in barns, they are allowed to remain open, in which case you can generally see day-light through both walls. Situated in a thick wood, with a little space cleared around them, where the stems of last year's Indian-corn are still standing among the recently decapitated stumps of trees, these dwellings exhibit as striking a contrast as can well be imagined to an English cottage with its little garden. Sometimes, however, as in England, you may see a neat, modest-looking cottage girl standing at the door, whose placid, cheerful countenance seems to smile with good-natured satire

on the external decorations of rank and fashion; and even the black faces of the little slaves, the more frequent inhabitants of these primitive cabins, are often irradiated with a smile of playfulness and satisfaction.

Our gradual approach to the southward has been strongly indicated by a great increase in the proportion of the Black population. I believe you are aware that the importation of slaves into the United States has been prohibited by law since the year 1808; and that in many of the northern states, slavery is either extinguished already, or will be so on the arrival of certain fixed and early periods appointed by their respective legislatures. The states, however, to the south of Pennsylvania, with the exception, I believe, of Delaware, have made no provision for its extinction, and are termed slave-holding states; and although their legislatures may profess to be, and perhaps are, opposed to slavery in the abstract, yet, conceiving that the climate renders the use of negroes indispensable to cultivation, and that their emancipation would be attended with difficulties which have hitherto appeared insurmountable, they may be regarded as practically contemplating the perpetuation of slavery to the remotest period to which their

political views extend. We will hope, however, that some ray of light will break in on this gloomy prospect, even though it should condemn to perpetual sterility the arid sands and pestilential swamps on which the negroes are employed.

You will believe that it was not without the most painful emotions that I for the first time contemplated the revolting spectacle of man in bondage to his fellow-man; and that I felt myself surrounded by unhappy victims for whom nature and humanity seemed in vain to urge the unanswerable plea, "Am I not a man and a "brother?" Unhappy, indeed, we must regard their degraded condition!—although I have no doubt that many of them pass through life with as much enjoyment and as little actual suffering as their free brethren. I have hitherto conversed with but few slaves, comparatively, on the *plantations*; but I have been surprised with the ease, cheerfulness, and intelligence of the *domestic* slaves. Their manners, and their mode of expressing themselves, have, generally, been decidedly superior to those of many of the lower classes in England. The servants at almost all the hotels in the southern states are slaves; some belonging to the landlord, others to farmers in the neigh-

bourhood, who let them out by the year. The first I talked with was at Washington, where he came into my bed-room to make my fire. On seeing me disposed to converse with him, he leaned his arm on the chimney-piece with considerable ease, and said he was to be free in three months, when he should be twenty-eight years of age; that he liked the thoughts of it, but did not suppose he should be better off than at present; that, in fact, he should have to do precisely as he did now, except that he might change his master, if he had a bad one; to set against which was the consideration, that now his master was obliged to maintain him, and then he must starve if he was idle;—but that "he understood the common people in *my* "country were so oppressed, that they were "worse off than the slaves in America!" Here I endeavoured to extricate him from his egregious mistake.

Three out of four of the black coachmen we had the other day, (all slaves,) I found very intelligent. They said, all they wanted was good masters, but that their liability to be sold to bad ones, and to be separated from their families, was a cruel part of their condition;—that in that part of the country, (Virginia,) they had Sunday to themselves; one holiday in

April, one in May, and four at Christmas;—that they had public worship on Sundays, and on one evening in the week;—that many of them could read; and that some of their preachers were slaves. I cannot describe my feelings when sitting by the side of a fellow-creature and talking to him of his own price! Often did a little verse, with which our English children are familiar, recur to my recollection, with some sense, I hope, of the gratitude which it ought to inspire.

"I was not born a little slave,
"To labour in the sun,
"And wish I were but in my grave,
"And all my labour done."

Highly as I have ever appreciated the privilege of claiming as my native country the most favoured corner of the globe, I think I never entertained so strong a sense of this blessing as since more extended observation has enabled me to *feel* its magnitude by comparison with other countries; and, especially, since I have had the opportunity of contemplating a class of my fellow-creatures excluded from the benefits of the social compact—not voluntarily relinquishing a portion of their natural liberty to secure the free enjoyment of

the remainder, but forcibly, and for ever, deprived of all;—who see in law but a legalized oppressor, and in civil institutions a shelter, indeed, to those who repose under their shadow, but a hostile combination of physical and moral power against the proscribed and helpless victims beyond their pale. I pity the planters, who would many of them gladly put an end to this unhappy system, if they knew how to accomplish it.

And yet there *is* a bondage from which all our national privileges may be insufficient to secure us—as real, although less obvious, as galling, but not so transient, as the captivity of the poor negro whom we commiserate;—a bondage which will press upon us with its heaviest chains at that awful hour of dissolution when the African will burst *his* manacles for ever. And there *is* a *freedom*, which connects many a despised slave with the spirits of just men made perfect; a freedom, which their benevolent advocates in a land of liberty may overlook.

> "He is the free man whom the Truth makes free;
> "And all are slaves besides."

And of him it may be said, but in a far sublimer sense than was contemplated by the

orator whose words I borrow, "He is redeemed, "regenerated, disenthralled, by the Spirit of "unversal emancipation."

I had expected to be much pleased with Richmond, but was somewhat disappointed; although, had the weather been brighter, my impressions would probably have been more favourable. It is built, like its original, on the brow and at the foot of a very steep hill; and is washed by James' River, which, when full, must be broader considerably than the Thames under Richmond Hill. A large bed of rocks just opposite the town, and extending, I believe, some miles beyond, renders the river unnavigable for some distance above, where the navigation is resumed by means of a canal. These rocks form what are called the Falls of the river, and in a flood must have a magnificent effect.

The capitol, where the legislature assemble, (you are aware that every state has its distinct legislature, for the management of its internal concerns, as well as its senators and representatives in the general Congress,) is built on the model of the Parthenon at Athens, and is finely situated at the summit of the hill. The view from it is very extensive, but the surrounding country at this season is brown and

uninteresting; not like the rich green English landscape, which our Richmond Hill presents, where art seems to have completed what nature had begun, by removing whatever did not harmonize with her general expression; where the sombre and venerable aspect of our ancient forests and royal domains is finely contrasted with the fresh verdure of young plantations, luxuriant meadows, and velvet lawns, washed by the sparkling waters of the silvery Thames; where you embrace in a *coup-d'œil* the pleasing and familiar images of rural simplicity, and the refined decorations of the most exquisite taste; where the same objects which delight the eye, kindle the imagination, and awaken recollections which impart a classical interest to the enchanting scene.

I left Richmond in the stage at eleven o'clock, and arrived at Petersburgh at six—twenty-five miles in seven hours. The road was a deep sandy clay, in some places barely passable, through woods of pine. A few miles from Petersburgh the driver pointed out to me the old wooden church which the British made their head-quarters, for some days, when harrassed by General La Fayette in the revolutionary war.

Petersburgh is a little town, which has risen,

like the phœnix, from its ashes, having been almost entirely consumed in 1815. It is situated on the Appomatox, which falls into James' River, and in summer must be pretty, but at present the adjoining country is brown and dreary. I am the more sensible of this defect, as my eyes have for the last six weeks been accustomed to a sparkling surface of the purest snow, which in many cases, I have no doubt, has concealed the nakedness of the land, and which in a woody country, and a climate as pure as this, greatly enhances the beauty of a winter prospect. I have already described the nature of the accommodations on the road; and as I do not intend to trouble you with an account of our meals, I will once for all give you a general idea of a tavern, or inn, in the *southern* towns. These are sometimes quite as large, often nearly so, as the York house at Bath. On arriving, your luggage is immediately carried to the baggage-room, that the lobby may not be crowded; and the passengers afterwards either send it to their bed-rooms at their leisure, or allow it to remain locked up. You are then shown into a large room, which communicates with the bar, or into a reading-room, filled with newspapers from almost every state in the Union. Usually about half-past eight o'clock

the bell rings for breakfast, and you sit down, with sixty or eighty persons, to tea and coffee, and every variety of flesh, fowl, and fish, wheat-bread, Indian-corn bread, buck-wheat cakes, &c. Every one rises as soon as he has finished his meal, and the busy scene is usually over in ten minutes. At two or three o'clock the bell rings, and the door unlocks, for dinner. The stream *rushes* in and *dribbles* out as at breakfast, and the room is clear in less than a quarter of an hour. At dinner, there are frequently four or five turkies on the table, and the greatest possible variety and profusion of meat, poultry, and pastry. The waiters, who are numerous, civil, and attentive, carve; few persons appearing to have leisure to assist their neighbours. There are decanters of brandy in a row down the table, which appeared to me to be used with great moderation, and for which no extra charge is made. Tea is a repetition of breakfast, with the omission of beef-steaks, but in other respects, with almost an equal profusion of meat, fowls, turkey-legs, &c. While on the subject of eating, which I do not intend to resume (I mean the *subject*,) I will mention, that I do not recollect to have dined a single day, from my arrival in America, till I left Virginia, without a turkey on the table; often two, in gentlemen's houses. On Christmas-Eve,

in the little town of Norfolk, Virginia, it was said that 6000 turkies were in the market. The picture which I have given you of the meals at taverns is not an inviting one: they more resemble a school-boy's scramble than a social repast. The domestic economy of the bed-chamber is still less agreeable. If you do not make stipulations to the contrary, you are shown, as a thing, of course, into a room with from three or four to six or seven beds. I have, however, never failed, since I left New York, by early and earnest application, to secure a separate bed-chamber, for I cannot reconcile myself to these gregarious habits.

The streets of Petersburgh were crowded with hogsheads of tobacco; and on the road we continually met with single hogsheads drawn by two horses, coming eighty or a hundred miles from the interior. Two circular rims, like the circumference of a wheel, are fastened to them, and they turn on two pivots, driven into the ends. It was not the season to see the tobacco growing. I understand that it is a most troublesome crop. It requires the best soil; and either new land must be cleared for it expressly, or the wheat and Indian-corn lands must be robbed of their manure to provide a most inadequate supply. The high prices which

Tobacco has frequently obtained in Europe, have encouraged its cultivation to an extent which it probably would never have attained, if its average value in relation to wheat and Indian corn had been more apparent, and if it had been deprived of its attractions as an article of speculation. I was informed, by some members of an agricultural society in Virginia, that the injurious effects of the system of agriculture pursued by the tobacco planters, had at length become too obvious to be overlooked; that many were gradually relinquishing the culture of this plant, and that some had abandoned it altogether.

The land in Virginia may be considered as occupied entirely by the proprietors of the soil, rents being almost unknown. The estates usually consist of from 1000 to 6000 or 10,000 acres each; and, *cæteris paribus*, those which have been least cleared are considered the most valuable. Oak, hiccory, and dog-wood, denote the best land; cedar and pine the worst. When land has been worked out and left to itself, it is gradually clothed with wood again, though seldom of so large a growth as the original trees. I have been informed, but I do not consider my authority quite unequivocal, that oak is almost invariably succeeded by pine, and *vice*

*versa.** Frequently, when passing through large woods of pine, whose hereditary title to the soil I had imagined had been handed down to them inviolate by their predecessors, I have detected marks of previous cultivation, and on inquiry have been informed that the land which they occupied was formerly under tillage. This process, reversing the order of things which we inhabitants of the old world expect to find in the new, at first puzzled me a little; but the Virginian mode of cultivation in some degree explained the secret.

I left Petersburgh at one o'clock on the morning of the 3d, and arrived at Raleigh,

* Since my return home, I have received, from high authority, the following reason why oak is succeeded by pine. —"The latter grows quickly in comparison of the former, and therefore *chokes* its growth, as heath does our natural grasses; clover and other grasses will almost certainly spring up, in this country, where heath is destroyed by lime. The fact is, that the seeds of plants are, by a beautiful provision of the Deity, endued with a strong power of resisting corruption, when not exposed to the elements; and those of oak and pine, from their astringent and resinous qualities, are very durable when buried. They will, therefore, in such circumstances, be capable of lasting for ages, until the clearing of the soil call them into a new existence; but if they both exist together, the quicker growth of the pine seed soon excludes the necessary agents, light and air, and the young oaks which have ventured to appear, are choked."

the capital of North Carolina, at three in the afternoon of the 4th—137 miles in 38 hours. Raleigh, where we were detained by the want of a conveyance till the following day, is named after the celebrated Sir Walter Raleigh, who, as well as Pocohuntas, the Indian queen, and General Washington, figure on the signs, and give their names to innumerable taverns in those parts of the country in which signs are not considered superfluous. The streets, which all terminate in the surrounding forest, are, as in almost all the American towns and villages, very wide; and the white frame-houses, with their neat Venetian blinds, which the heat renders almost indispensable to the smallest house, give the town a clean and interesting appearance. The state-house, in which the legislature meet, is soon to receive a statue of Gen. Washington from the hand of Canova.

We left Raleigh on the 5th at noon, and proceeded to Fayetteville, where we arrived at seven the 'next morning,' several hours later than we expected, having accomplished only 60 miles in 18 hours. It was Sunday; and two or three very handsome spires, which we saw as we entered the town, made us congratulate ourselves that we had fixed on that place as the spot where to pitch our tent for the Sabbath.

There was service three times in the Episcopal church; and I was told that the Episcopal clergyman and the Presbyterian minister preach, alternately on Thursday evening, in each other's place of worship, and in their other arrangements evince a spirit of Christian charity and co-operation. The day was like one of our June days; and the sudden transition to summer was delightful, and brought with it a new train of feelings. People were sitting in their verandahs reading; although three days previously, in Virginia, it was intensely cold, and the road so hard with frost that our heavy stage made no impression.

We left Fayetteville at five o'clock on the 8th, and passing through Lumbertown and Georgetown, reached Charleston at ten o'clock on the 10th—203 miles in 53 hours. This, you will say, is wretchedly slow travelling, in the only public conveyance between Washington and the Southern states. Yet this vehicle is dignified by the title of the United States' mail, although it is only an open waggon and four, with curtains which unfurl; and the mail-bags lie lumbering about your feet, among the trunks and packages which the passengers smuggle into the carriage. Indeed, there is a strong temptation to make companions of your trunks; for

otherwise, as they are merely laid on behind, they are in imminent danger of being lost, although the driver dismounts every few miles to see that they are safe. As this kind of attention, however, seemed better adapted to ascertain your loss than to secure your property, I bought a chain and padlock; one end of the chain my servant introduced into the stage: if he had a nibble, his attention was awakened; and a bite showed that it was high time to stop. We broke two chains, but brought our luggage safely. The principal reason why the conveyance is so wretched, is, that few persons travel from the Southern to the Northern States by land, except in their own carriages; and as the road runs through the poorest part of America, even the opulent families generally prefer the packets. I should be glad, for the sake of the candour of those English travellers who have so much misrepresented America, if their range of observation had been confined to the road on the sea-coast from New York to Georgia. Their inaccurate representations might then be accounted for, without impeaching either their motives or their good temper. From Petersburgh to the borders of North Carolina, the inns, the people, the face of the country, all seemed to degenerate; and from Petersburgh

to Charleston we passed through only three small towns, and a few very small villages, although the distance is 400 miles. The log-huts were very thinly scattered; and the manners of the lower classes, both of the black and white population, altered very sensibly for the worse. Their general demeanour became more rude and familiar, and their conversation more licentious and profane: their appearance also, was dirty, ragged, and uncomfortable. The Virginian nightingales and mocking-birds have been our constant companions; and we were desired to look out for racoons and opossums, but did not see any. The number and variety of the squirrels were almost incredible; I heard of several instances of from 2000 to 3000 being killed in a day in some of the large squirrel-hunts. I once observed a beautiful one perfectly white.

Although our route lay principally through the most barren tracts of Virginia and the Carolinas, I had the opportunity of seeing the clearing of land in almost every different stage. The process, I believe, is familiar to you, and I will not therefore describe it. You can have no idea, however, of the picture of desolation which is presented by a large tract of girdled trees, not only destitute of verdure, but entirely stripped of their bark; some black to the top, with fire

which has been applied to them; some falling, as you pass, with a great crash; and others going by fragments to decay. The prodigious size of the pine trees thus deformed, and the absence of any thing to relieve the eye, which at that season could wander only over a leafless forest, added greatly to the effect. In passing through the pine barrens of the Carolinas, we saw many trees with little excavations in them, for the purpose of collecting the turpentine from them at particular seasons of the year. When the turpentine begins to flow, the owner of the woods divides them into little districts, which are confided to the charge of his slaves. A negro has usually the care of from 3000 to 5000 trees. I was told that 3000 trees often produce about seventy-five barrels of turpentine annually; and that the excavations are emptied five or six times in the season, which lasts from about May to September. We also saw the tar-pits, where the tar is extracted from the dead wood of the pine trees in a particular state. In the night we frequently passed parties "camping out" in the woods by large fires; and occasionally saw trees, accidentally set on fire by their embers, gradually consuming like a torch.—I forgot to say, in speaking of the clearing of land, that we had a striking instance of the rapidity

with which a settlement is occasionally effected. The mail stage stopped for breakfast one morning at a very comfortable log-house. The land was cleared for about the space of an acre, and, in addition to the house, there were two out-houses; a stable, in which were the four mail-horses; and a granary. Thirteen days previously this was the middle of a wood, and not a tree was cut down!

My companions were delighted with the frog concerts in the woods, and hailed them, as we do the cuckoo, as the harbinger of spring. I opened my window the first night, supposing that these choristers were birds, and it was a night or two before I was undeceived. I have not thought them musical since I discovered my mistake.

In the course of our route from Petersburgh we have crossed many rivers and creeks, frequently by ferries in the middle of the night. In South Carolina we have passed through several large swamps, where the monotony of the pine barrens was relieved by a variety of beautiful green shrubs, among which the Magniolia was most conspicuous. As we approached the coast, I saw great abundance of the vegetable drapery which covers the trees like a fine cob-web, or hangs from them like streamers. Its botanical name, I believe, is Tillandsia Usneoides,

It is frequently said to mark the limits within which the yellow fever confines its ravages, but this is incorrect, for it is found every where within the Tropics.

We saw the first *rice* plantation at Georgetown, about sixty miles from Charleston, and began to be shocked with the vacant looks and ragged appearance of many of the slaves we met. But, abating the painful sensations excited by the appearance of slavery, our first approach to this city was calculated to give us very favourable impressions, after our long monotonous ride through the pine barrens. On arriving at the ferry opposite Charleston, a little after sun-rise on a clear fresh morning, we crossed an extensive bay, from which we had a fine view of the open sea, and in which several ships were riding at anchor, laden with rice and cotton, ready to sail for England with the first fair wind. Small boats of various kinds, sailing in every direction, gave animation to the scene; while the glittering spires increased our curiosity to see this metropolis of South Carolina, of which we had heard so much. On entering the city, we seemed to be transported into a garden. Orange trees laden with ripe oranges, peach trees covered with blossoms, and flowering shrubs of a description which I had been accustomed to

see only in hot-houses, gave me impressions similar to those which I suppose you experienced on visiting some of the cities on the Mediterranean. I had no sooner sat down to breakfast at the hotel, than I found one black slave at my elbow, fanning away flies with a flapper, and three or four covering the table with a profusion of dishes. On sallying out after breakfast, I found the streets filled with well-dressed and genteel-looking people, and carriages driving about in every direction.—But I must reserve a description of Charleston and its inhabitants till I have become better acquainted with them,

Letter IV.

Charleston, South Carolina, 26th Feb. 1820.

I WROTE to you on the 19th instant, and soon afterwards received an invitation, which I gladly accepted, to accompany a gentleman to his rice plantation, about thirty miles distant. With the interesting character of this excellent and venerable friend, I have already made you acquainted. Descended from one of the old patrician families who form, as it were, the nobility of Carolina, educated at one of our English public schools and universities, and enjoying a high reputation, acquired in arduous military and diplomatic situations, he would be regarded, I am persuaded, as second to few in Europe, as a statesman, a scholar, and a gentleman. I took an early breakfast with him at his handsome town-house, from whence we proceeded to the ferry. After crossing the bay, we found the General's carriage waiting for us, with a few periodical publications in it, and with led horses, in case we should wish to vary our mode of conveyance. We stopped at noon to rest the horses,

and to take a little refreshment in the woods, and reached the plantation to a late dinner in the evening. The road lay through a pine barren, such as I have already described; and we scarcely passed a creature in the course of the day, except my friend's sister, an old lady, and her two nieces, who were on their way to Charleston, in a large family carriage and four, with a black servant on a mule behind, a Negro woman and child on the footboard, and three or four baskets of country provisions hanging from the axle-tree. They inquired how far they were from the spring, where we had been resting, and where they proposed to take their *al fresco* repast.

In the morning, I strolled out before breakfast, into the plantation, and saw about twelve female slaves, from eighteen to twenty-eight years of age, thrashing rice on a sort of clay floor, in the same manner as our farmers thrash wheat. It was extremely hot, and the employment seemed very laborious. After breakfast, the General took me over the plantation; and in the course of our walk we visited the little dwellings of the Negroes. These were generally grouped together round something like a farmyard; and behind each of them was a little garden, which they cultivate on their own account.

The huts themselves are not unlike a poor Irish cabin, with the addition of a chimney. The bedding of the Negroes consists simply of blankets, and their clothing is generally confined to a sort of flannel garment, made up in different forms. Those whom I saw at home were cowering over a fire, although the day was oppressively hot, and the little Negroes were *sunning* themselves with great satisfaction about the door. They all seemed glad to see my friend, who talked to them very familiarly, and most of them inquired after their mistress. I was told that their provisions were prepared for them, and that twice every day they had as much as they asked for of Indian corn, sweet potatoes, and broth, with the occasional addition of a little meat. Besides this, they frequently prepare for themselves a little supper from the produce of their garden, and fish which they catch in the river. On many plantations it is usual to give out their allowance once a week, and to let them cook it for themselves, their fuel costing them nothing but the trouble of gathering it. A nurse and doctor, both Negroes I believe, are provided for them; and making allowance for the sick, the children, &c. I was told that on the rice plantations in that neighbourhood, half the *gangs* were effective hands.

I heard my benevolent friend order wine, oranges, &c. for some of the invalids; and I believe that I have seen a very favourable specimen of Negro slavery. Yet the picture must ever be a dark one, and when presented to an eye not yet familiar with its horrors, must excite reflections the most painful and depressing. Humanity may mitigate the sufferings of the unhappy victims of the slave system, and habit renders them less sensible to their degradation; but no tenderness can eradicate from slavery the evils inherent in its very nature, nor familiarity reconcile man to perpetual bondage, but by sinking him below the level of his kind.

The Negroes usually go to work at sun-rise, and finish the task assigned to them at three or four, or sometimes five or six o'clock in the evening. They have Sunday to themselves, three days at Christmas, one day for sowing their little crop in spring, and another for reaping it in autumn.

In the course of the morning, we saw several plantations in the neighbourhood; on some of which were very handsome residences, with grounds resembling an English park. The live oaks profusely scattered, and often standing alone, contributed greatly to this resemblance.

These noble trees form a very striking and interesting feature in a Carolinian landscape, especially when at distant intervals they cast their broad shadows on the level spacious tracts of cleared land, which stretch to the distant forest without a fence, or the smallest perceptible undulation or variety of surface. They are not tall, but from twelve to eighteen feet in girth, and contain a prodigious quantity of timber. At the distance of fifteen or eighteen feet from the ground, they divide into three or four immense limbs, which grow nearly in a horizontal direction, or rather with a gentle curve, to the length of forty or fifty paces. The wood is almost incorruptible; and on this account, as well as from its furnishing, in its natural state, almost every curve which is required in the construction of a vessel, it is invaluable for naval purposes.

We dined at a neighbouring plantation, and after tea I had a pleasant *tête-à-tête* ride home through the woods with my venerable friend. We spent the evening very agreeably, in general conversation on American and European politics, and in examining various works on the botany and ornithology of America. My friend had an excellent library, comprising many recent and valuable British publications, and a

more extensive collection of English agricultural works than I ever saw in a private library before. The house is a very handsome one, and covers more ground than houses on a similar scale in England, as it is thought desirable in this climate to have only one room deep, with a profusion of windows, which do not put one in good humour with our window-tax. From the windows of the library and dining-room, the eye wandered over extensive rice-fields, the surface of which is levelled with almost mathematical exactness, as it is necessary to overflow them at particular periods from various canals which intersect them, and which communicate with rivers whose waters are thrown back by the flowing of the tide.—At six o'clock this morning, I left my hospitable friend, who sent me in his carriage half way back to Charleston, to a spot where my servant and horses met me.

The few days previous to this excursion had been spent principally in visiting the different families with whom I have already made you acquainted, and who were particularly attentive to me. The best society here, though not very extensive, is much superior to any which I have yet seen in America. It consists of a few old patrician families, who form a select circle, into

which the "novi homines," unless distinguished by great personal merit, find it extremely difficult to gain admission. Strangers, well introduced, and of personal respectability, are received with much liberality and attention. Many of the old gentlemen were educated at English colleges, and retain something of their original attachment to the mother country, notwithstanding their sensibility to recent calumny and misrepresentation. Their manners are extremely agreeable, resembling the more polished of our country gentlemen; and are formed on the model of what in England we call "the old school." They are, however, the last of their generation, and will leave a blank much to be deplored when they pass away. The young ladies of the patrician families are delicate, refined, and intelligent, rather distant and reserved to strangers, but frank and affable to those who are familiarly introduced to them by their fathers and brothers. They go very early into company, are frequently married at sixteen or eighteen years of age, and generally under twenty, and have retired from the vortex of gay society, before even the fashionable part of my fair countrywomen would formerly have entered it. They often lament that the high standard of manners to which they have been

accustomed seems doomed to perish with the generation of their fathers. The fact is, that the absence of the privileges of primogeniture, and the consequent repeated subdivision of property, are gradually effecting a change in the structure of society in South Carolina, and will shortly efface its most interesting and characteristic features.

I arrived at Charleston immediately after the races, which are a season of incessant gaiety. They usually take place in February, when all the principal families visit their town-houses in Charleston, for three or four weeks, collecting from their plantations, which are at a distance of from 30 to 150 miles. During this short interval, there is a perpetual round of visits. About the beginning of March, they return to the retirement of their plantations, often accompanied by the strangers with whom they have become acquainted. As a large proportion of the plantations are in the swamps, where a residence in the summer months would probably be fatal from a fever of a bilious nature, from which the natives themselves are not exempt, the families return about the beginning of June to the city, where they remain till the first frost, which is looked for with great anxiety towards October. They then go back to their

plantations until February. Some, instead of coming into the city in June, retire to the mountains, or to the springs of Ballston and Saratoga, in the State of New York, where a large concourse of persons assemble from every part of the United States and from Canada, and, by the reciprocation of civilities, and a better acquaintance with each other, gradually lose their sectional and colonial prejudices.—Although these springs are from a thousand to fifteen hundred miles from the Southern States, the inhabitants of Georgia and Carolina speak of them with as much familiarity as our Londoners speak of Bath or Cheltenham. Some of the planters pass the hot months on Sullivan's Island, at the mouth of the Bay, where even strangers may generally remain with impunity. When those who decide to spend the summer in the city are once settled there, it is considered in the highest degree hazardous to sleep a single night in the country. The experiment is sometimes made, and occasionally with impunity, but all my informants concurred in assuring me that fatal consequences might generally be expected; and a most respectable friend told me, that if his family suspected him of such an intention, they would almost attempt to prevent it by actual force. The natives,

however, may pass to and fro between the city and Sullivan's Island without risk. Of late years it has been discovered that there are certain healthy spots, even in the country, during the most sickly months. These are in the pine barrens at a distance from the swamps. To be safe in them it is necessary that the land be as barren as possible, and that not a tree be cut down except to leave room for the house. Even a little garden, it is considered, would entail some risk. I saw several of these retreats, which are occupied by the overseers of plantations.

The preceding remarks respecting liability to sickness, apply to the *natives*, who, you are aware, are generally exempt, after the age of from ten to fifteen years, from the yellow or stranger's fever, their apprehensions being confined to what they term the "country fever," and "fever and ague." With regard to the yellow fever, I understand that, generally speaking, the probability would be greatly against a stranger escaping its fatal effects, who should remain in Charleston or Savannah during the sickly season.

There are two points connected with the yellow fever here, which are subjects of animated, and sometimes of angry controversy:

1st, whether it is contagious? and, 2nd, whether it is imported, or originates at home? With regard to the first point, I believe the negative is supported by the best authority. A most intelligent friend told me, that he had slept in the same bed with a person who had the fever in the stage of black vomit, without suffering; and Dr. ——, who lived in Sir William Jones's family in India, informed me, that he was in Philadelphia, under Dr. Rush, I think, in 1798, and attended the hospital, where upwards of 5000 patients were admitted, whom he visited daily, and that he never took the fever; that he once saw a young man swallow, with impunity, a tea-spoonful of black vomit, and take large quantities out of the stomachs of those who had died, and rub it over his arms, and that he had seen the patients eject it copiously on the nurses. With respect to the origin of the fever, I believe the weight of authority, both in numbers and respectability, is against the idea of its being imported; but here I am on delicate and uncertain ground.

In passing through Charleston, at present so animated and gay, and with a climate at this season so delicious and so pure, it is melancholy to think of the stillness and desertion which

will soon pervade its streets, when the heats will almost suspend all intercourse among the natives, and when the stranger who has been so rash as to remain in this infected region, will move with fearful and trembling steps, his imagination filled with apparitions of "the "pestilence that walketh in darkness," and his heart sickened with the "destruction which "wasteth at noon-day." Having visited Cadiz and Lisbon, you are no stranger to the melancholy feelings excited by a view of the graves of our countrymen who have fallen victims to an epidemic on a foreign shore.

"No voice well known, through many a day,
"To speak the last, the parting word,
"Which, when all other sounds decay,
"Is still like distant music heard.
"That tender farewell on the shore
"Of this rude world, when all is o'er,
"Which cheers the spirit, ere its bark
"Puts off into the unknown dark."

But the real plague-spot of Charleston is its slave population; and the mixture of gaiety and splendour, with misery and degradation, is too incongruous not to arrest the attention even of the superficial. It always reminded me of the delicate pink peach-blossoms which surround the black hovels of the slaves on the plantations.

I shall never forget my feelings on being present, for the first time, at a sale of slaves, which took place here in a public street through which I was passing the other day. Turning from a fashionable promenade, enlivened by gay parties and glittering equipages, I came suddenly in sight of at least 80 or 100 Negroes sitting on a large heap of paving stones; some with most melancholy and disconsolate faces, and others with an air of vacancy and apathy, apparently insensible to what was passing around them. Several merchants and planters were walking about, examining the unhappy creatures who were to be offered for sale. A poor woman, apparently about 28 years of age, with a child at her breast, her two little boys, from four to six years old, and her little girl, about eight, composed *the first lot.* They were mounted on a platform (with the auctioneer,) taking hold of each other's hands, and the little boys looking up at their mother's face with an air of curiosity, as if they wondered what could make her look so sad. The mother then spoke a few words, in a faultering voice, to the auctioneer, who repeated them aloud, in which she expressed a strong desire to be purchased by some one who lived near Charleston, instead of being sent to a distant plantation. They were

then put up with all the ordinary auction slang, and finally knocked down at 350 dollars each. As soon as they came down from the platform, many of the Negroes crowded around the mother, inquiring if she knew who had bought her, or whither she was going; but all that she knew of her future destiny was, that a new owner had obtained possession of her and her offspring for 350 dollars each. I could not stay to see the repetition of the sad process on the person of a field labourer, who composed the next lot, and who appeared depressed and dejected beyond what I had conceived. The melancholy feelings with which I quitted this scene were not diminished by the reflection, that it was *my* country which first transported the poor African to these western shores; that it was when they were the shores of a British colony that slavery was first introduced, by British ships, British capital, and with the sanction and encouragement of a British Parliament. Would that I could forget that, in a single year, no less than 30,000 slaves were introduced into America by more than a hundred vessels belonging to a single British port; that the efforts of many of the American States to abolish the importation of slaves, were long defeated by the royal negative which was put

on those acts of the colonial legislature which had for their sole object the extinction of the Slave Trade; and that Burke was but too well justified in stating in Parliament, that "the "refusal of America to deal any more in the "inhuman traffic of Negro slaves, was one of the "causes of her quarrel with Great Britain!" Would that I could forget that, if America has still her slave-holding States, we, free Britons, have also our slave-holding Colonies; and that in neither the one nor the other have any efficient steps yet been taken towards the ultimate extinction of an evil which all parties must deplore. Do not think me insane enough to overlook the difficulties of this subject. I am insensible neither to the consideration due to those whose property is invested under legislative sanctions, nor to the cruelty of liberating slaves till they are prepared for freedom. While, on the one hand, I consider that full indemnity is due to the owners of slaves for any interference with their property, which may lead to its depreciation; on the other, I conceive, that nothing could be more fatal to the ultimate welfare of the slaves themselves than rash or precipitate measures for their emancipation. But surely no man, much less a free-born Briton, or an American republican, can rest satisfied in

the horrible conclusion that slavery is to be regarded in any region of the globe, as necessary, irremediable, hopeless, and perpetual. The time, I hope, will come, when a better order of things will prevail in this respect, even where the prospects are now the darkest; when this blot will be effaced for ever from the fair creation of that common Parent, who "hath "made of one blood all nations of men, for to "dwell on all the face of the earth." Every day are the horrors of slavery rendered more apparent by contrast with the free institutions which are rising on all sides in its immediate vicinity, and by the brighter light which the diffusion of the Gospel is shedding over the globe. Every day does slavery become more abhorrent from the common feelings of Christian communities, and more inconsistent with the spirit of the times.

Letter V.

Charleston, 1st March, 1820.

—— This place is peculiarly interesting to me, as being the ordinary residence of my friend, Mr. L—, one of the Representatives of South Carolina, whose connections here, to whom he has kindly introduced me, comprise most of the distinguished families of the State. I have already adverted briefly to his kindness to me while at Washington, but I did not in my letter to ——, give many particulars of my visit there. *You*, however, will be anxious to hear something of the public characters whom I had the opportunity of meeting; and I will, therefore, send you a few recollections of the metropolis, before they are effaced by the new impressions I expect shortly to receive among the Indians.

On the 7th, I delivered my letters of introduction to Mr. Horsey and Mr. Van Dyke, the Senators from Delaware; Mr. Dana, the Senator from Connecticut, and Mr. M'Lane, one of the Representatives of Delaware.—I then, agreeably to appointment, called on Mr. L——, who took me to the Capitol. As the House was not formed, Mr. L. took me to the centre of the

room, to introduce me to Mr. Clay, the Speaker, (one of the Commissioners at Ghent,) but he had taken his seat before we reached the chair. I then went into the gallery; but nothing interesting coming forward, I set out to deliver my letters of introduction to the British Chargé d'Affaires, who was not at home. The following day, I was confined to the house by indisposition, which prevented me from accepting an invitation to dinner from Mr. D——, and an offer from Mr. Antrobus, the British Chargé d'Affaires, to accompany him to the house of M. Hyde de Neuville, the French Minister, in the evening. The next day I passed quietly at home; and on the following, attended the Capitol again, but heard no interesting debates. The hours of Session are from about ten o'clock in the morning, to three in the afternoon. In the evening, I went to a large party at Mr. B——'s, who had been kind enough to call upon me with a note from Mrs. B——. This gentleman and his lady I had previously met at Philadelphia, at the house of Mr. C——, the President of the Bank of the United States. He is one of the Senators from Louisiana, and has a complete English establishment at a short distance from my inn. As New Orleans is so remote, and he has no family, he seldom visits it above once in two

years, but spends his winters in this city, and his summers in travelling in Europe, or in the northern parts of America. During the session of Congress, Mrs B—— gives a party every Monday evening, and supports Mrs Monroe in the drawing-rooms which she holds every alternate Wednesday. Among the company this evening were, the Vice-President of the United States, the French Minister and his suite, the Swedish Chargé d'Affaires, Commodore Decatur, Mr. Barbour the Governor of Virginia, several Ex-Governors of the different States, and many of the leading members of Congress. Every thing was extremely easy, with something less of form than in a party equally large in England. Tea was handed round as the company assembled, and a constant succession of cakes, ices, &c. during the remainder of the evening. I had some conversation with Commodore Decatur. His manners are more polished than those of most persons whom I have met with here, and there is a gentleness in his tone of voice and countenance, which the strong outline delineated in the portraits I have seen of him, would not have led me to expect. No cards were introduced; but I am told a card table is usually set out on occasions of this kind, though seldom used. In the present instance,

its place was supplied by a fine collection of French prints. We separated about 10 o'clock; and in the morning, Mr. L—— took me to make some calls on the Secretaries, and to ask whether he should take me to the President's in the morning, or defer our visit till the following Wednesday evening, when a drawing-room would be held.

We first went to Mr. Crawford's, the Secretary of the Treasury, whom we found in his study. He received us very politely, shaking hands on our entrance, and conversing on general topics during our short visit. We then proceeded to Mr. Calhoun's, the Secretary at War, who was from home, to my great regret, as all I had heard of his character had inspired me with a strong desire to see him. I recollected having sometimes read Mr. Calhoun's speeches, in the reported debates, with great interest, and ——— will probably recollect an excellent one which I pointed out to him on the subject of usury. From Mr. Calhoun's we proceeded to Mr. Adams, the Secretary of State, and son of Mr. Adams, the second President. When we were shown into the parlour, Mrs. Adams was sitting alone; we found her very conversable, and well acquainted with England. In speaking of the cold, which

here occasionally penetrates to the very bones, she said, that a morning or two before, when Mr. Adams rose as usual to make his own fire, at 5 o'clock, (is the Secretary of State his own fire-maker, ex-officio, in England?) the thermometer stood at 6° below zero, and at Baltimore it had been 10° below. When Mr. Adams appeared, the conversation turned principally on the weather, west of the Alleghany mountains; and both Mr. L—— and he seemed to question its alleged superiority to the weather on the coast.

As you recede from the coast towards the mountains, indeed, they stated, that with respect to cold, 100 miles west were equivalent to 100 miles north. On coming away, Mrs. Adams invited us to her party in the evening, her rooms being open every Tuesday during the session of Congress. Mr. L—— very kindly offered to accompany me if no one was going from the British minister's, where I was to dine. At dinner there, I met Mr. Clay, who is now the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and who will probably soon be the Governor of Kentucky. He was less animated, I believe, than usual. The British

country. Mr. Bagot, his predecessor, was extremely popular, from his affability, and the disposition which he evinced to conform to the manners and habits of the United States. We all went in the evening to Mrs. Adams's, where I met nearly the same party as at Mr. B—'s the preceding night, and among others, a young lady from the North. She amused me with her observations on her first visit to Washington, and introduced me to some other young ladies, who were making their first appearance; and here I may say, that I have yet found nothing of the coldness and reserve which I was taught to expect from the American young ladies, but on the contrary great good humour and affability.

On the 12th, I spent a considerable part of the morning in the Senate. I will give you an account of the proceedings in another letter. I then went to call on Col. T——, to whom I was introduced by his son, a fellow passenger in the Courier with dispatches from Mr. Rush. I also left my card on our Chargé d'Affaires and Consul-General. In the afternoon, I went to Mr. L—'s, who had asked me to dinner, on that day, on my first arrival, and who had kindly invited Mr. Crawford and Mr. Calhoun, in order to give me an opportunity of seeing a little of them in private. Mr. Walker,

the member for Georgia, some other members of Congress, and a few gentlemen from Carolina were there.

The highest class of Carolinians are, I am told, and my observation hitherto confirms the remark, men of good breeding and liberal education. They assume a superiority in these respects, over even the Virginians, and it appears to be generally conceded to them. I was in company the other day, when we were discussing the debates of the morning, and a Virginian, who was remarking, on a slight insinuation thrown out by Judge S—, one of the Senators from South Carolina, against Massachusetts, for her backwardness during the late war, observed, "I did not expect it from a Caro-"linian; I thought he might be dull, but *being* a "Carolinian, I had no doubt he was a gentleman." The conversation, during dinner, was general, Mr. Crawford explaining some peculiarities in the system of judicature in Georgia, which he considered to be practically the best in the United States; though, in theory, Mr. Calhoun observed, it was the least promising. Before dinner, I had some conversation with each of them, on the subject of domestic manufactures, for the encouragement and protection of which Mr. Crawford, I imagine, is a decided advocate.

I asked Mr. Crawford what was the general opinion of intelligent men in this country respecting the present state of England; he said that the general idea was, that her civil liberties were gone; that Government will be able to suppress the popular tumults, but only by a surrender, on the part of the people, of privileges which they will be unable to recover when the alarm subsides; that if part of the national debt could be extinguished by a very large income-tax, or any other mode, he conceived the country might again flourish; that it is the general opinion here, that ministers will be able to rub on some time longer, notwithstanding the defalcation of the revenue; and that their consent that cash payments should be resumed, had excited universal surprise. Mr. L— is favourably impressed with the resources of England, and has reported *as* favourably of the indications which he observed of her progressive prosperity to a period, evidently very little, if at all, anterior to the date of his visit.—Before dinner I gave Mr. L— the newspaper paragraph, which I am sorry occasioned you any uneasiness as to our safety. We never were *spoken* till towards the end of the voyage, and then only by outward bound vessels.

The next morning I attended the house as

usual, and afterwards dined with Mr. D—, the member for Connecticut, at his mess, where I met the Senators from Rhode Island, the Senators for New Hampshire, and a Senator or Representative from Portland, in the district Maine. Some of them called upon me afterwards, and invited me to call and see them in the north, when I visit their neighbourhood in in the summer. One of the Senators from Rhode Island offered to obtain for me introductions into the different cotton mills there, in some of which, I understand, he is extensively concerned.

The following day I dined at Col. T—'s. He is an American by birth, but was educated at Eton and Cambridge, and has spent much time in Europe. He lives in very good style, and his house is a sort of home for the British minister, and Englishmen who are well introduced. His domestic circle, comprising two generations, so blending with each other as to afford no marks of discrimination to a stranger's eye, transported me to England again.

I dined the other day at the house of Mr. Calhoun, the Secretary at War, with a large party of the most eminent members of Congress. Among others, were Mr. I—; the Vice-President of the U. S.; the Secretary of the Navy;

Governor Barbour, and his brother; Governor Dickerson; Judge M'Lane, from Ohio; Mr. Edwards, Senator from Illinois; Mr. Elliot, the Senator from Georgia; the celebrated Mr. Randolph, from Virginia; Mr. Macon, the only remaining member of Congress, who sate in it at its first formation; and many others. The conversation was general, and entertaining rather than instructive, pretty much, I imagine, as it may be at a ministerial or opposition dinner in London, when there is nothing particular on the carpet, and when the insignificance of the following evening's debate renders it unnecessary for the respective leaders to point out, to their retainers, how their consciences dictate they should vote.

I have met with a little publication, recently published at Washington, in which many of the leading public men are described; and, as the work, which *professes* to be written by a foreigner, is spoken of in favourable terms, I will extract from it a few particulars, which may interest you, respecting those whose names I have mentioned. I must not, however, forget to tell you, how much I was pleased with the speeches of Mr. Roberts, on the Missouri question. Mr. Roberts is a farmer in Pennsylvania, in appearance and manners very like Mr. ——, though with something of the plainness

and rusticity of his profession. He appears to possess considerable mental vigour, and without much early education, a clear and ready elocution. His integrity is unquestioned; and a conscious rectitude of intention, and a conviction of the importance and justice of his cause, often sustain him erect and undaunted against the combined force of superior talents. I should imagine he was an admirable representative of his Pennsylvanian constituents.

"Mr. Monroe appears to be between 50 and "60 years of age, with a form above the middle "size, compact, muscular, and indicating a con- "stitution of considerable hardiness and vigour; "his countenance exhibits lineaments of great "severity, and seems as if it had been seldom "irradiated by the rays of joy, or softened by the "touch of sensibility; he does smile, however; "and at these moments, there is a benignity "and suavity in him, that invite confidence and "repel suspicion. He is rather awkward in his "address for a man who has mingled so much "in polite society, and his manners and habili- "ments are more those of a plain country gen- "tleman, than an accomplished statesman, or a "profound politician.—Mr. Monroe is attached "to what was once denominated the republican "party; for at present all party distinctions

" seem to be lost, and the parties themselves " wholly amalgamated. In his political career, " he has manifested the most unimpeachable " and unbending integrity, and though long " before the public, has seldom failed to meet " the expectations and to gratify the wishes of " the people. That he possesses ambition, will " not be denied; but his ambition is limited to " the attainment of excellence and distinction " within the bounds of patriotism and honour. " If he has not the unbending sternness of Cato, " he has the more pleasing and benignant inte- " grity of Fabricius. Mr. Monroe entered early " into public life, and has performed the various " and complicated duties of a soldier, a politi- " cian, and a statesman. His mind has been " accustomed to dwell on the nature of govern- " ments and the revolutions of empire; subjects " so vast produce a correspondent enlargement " of intellect and sweep of comprehension.—The " peculiar character and magnitude of Mr. " Monroe's pursuits have withheld his attention " from the minor and less important subjects of " literature; and he is very far from what we " should call a man of reading or general " science. The knowledge he possesses has " been acquired more by personal conversation, " laborious reflection, and frequent observation,

"than by the repeated perusals of books, to "which his important occupations would not "permit him to devote his time; but he has "examined and re-examined that knowledge "till it has in fact become his own; recreated "by combination, established by practice, and "tested by experience. It is said, his mind is "neither rich nor brilliant, but capable of the "most laborious analysis, and the most patient "research—not hasty in its decisions, and not "easily changed when its decisions are formed. "Judgment appears to be his prominent intel-"lectual feature, and in the examination of any "object, he seldom suffers it to be darkened by "prejudice, or warped by passion.—Mrs. Monroe "is a lady of retired and domestic habits—not "ungraceful, and apparently very amiable. "Having resided in Europe with her husband, "she has acquired some of its manners and a "good deal of its polish. She receives company, "but returns no visits;—she seems more "attached to the silence and peace of obscurity, "than the bustle, confusion, and glare of public "assemblies; but to preserve the custom estab-"lished by her predecessor, a lady, it is said, of "great elegance of manners and much dignity "of deportment, she gives what we call *conver-*"*sations*, but what is here termed *drawing-*

" *rooms*, for the purpose of gratifying the " wishes and curiosity of such strangers as may " please to visit her and the President."

" Mr. J. Q. Adams, the present Secretary of " of State, is the son of the second President " of the United States, and a man of great " talent, information, and industry.—Mr. Adams " has distinguished himself in the paths of lite- " rature and politics. The early part of his life " seems to have been devoted to the acquisition " of general knowledge, which has been subse- " quently augmented by travel, observation, " and reflection. He was once attached to the " party by whom his father was chosen Presi- " dent, but very soon after the republican admin- " istration came into power, he was induced " to change his opinions, and to abandon what " might have been the prejudices of education, " for principles, which I have no doubt, he con- " ceived to be more consonant to his feelings, " and more consistent with his ideas of liberty " and independence. Whatever may be said as " to the motive which produced the change, I " have no hesitation in thinking it originated " entirely from principle, and that his feelings " and sentiments were more in harmony and " unison with the party he joined, than the one " he had forsaken. The conduct he has since

" pursued has evinced the integrity of his
" motives, and the sincerity of his attachment
" to his party and his country; and the confi-
" dence which that country has reposed in him,
" is an evidence that she also has been influenced
" by a similar opinion.

" Mr. Adams is in person short, thick, and
" fat, resembling a little, in his face, the portrait
" of his father, which you have seen; and nei-
" ther very agreeable nor very repulsive. He is
" between forty-five and fifty years of age, and
" seems to be vigorous and healthy. He is
" regular in his habits, and moral and temperate
" in his life. To great talent, he unites unceas-
" ing industry and perseverance, and an uncom-
" mon facility in the execution of business.
" Though he has read much, and drank 'deep
" of the Pierian spring,' he seems not to solicit
" the character which literature bestows, and,
" what will seem extraordinary to you, chooses
" rather to be ranked among men of business
" than among men of science.

" Mr. Adams is extremely plain and simple,
" both in his manners and habiliments; and
" labours to avoid alike the foolery and splen-
" dour of 'fantastic fashion,' and the mean
" and inelegant costume of affected eccentricity.
" He is evidently well skilled in the rhetorical

" art on which he has lectured, and in which " he displays considerable research and ability; " but whether he succeeded in reducing his " principles to practice, while a member of the " Senate, I am not able to say. I should infer, " however, that his speeches were more correct " and polished, if they were not more eloquent, " than those of his coadjutors in legislation.— " From what I can learn, Mr. Adams, with all " his knowledge and talent, did not attain the " first rank among American orators. He wanted " enthusiasm and fire; he wanted that nameless " charm which, in oratory as well as poetry, de- " lights and fascinates, and leads the soul captive, " without the desire of resistance, or the con- " sciousness of error.

" In the higher grades of eloquence, where " the passions are excited and acted on, and the " whole mind wrought up to a kind of frenzy " by weakening the dominion of reason, Mr. " Adams did not excel; but in close argumen- " tation, in logical analysis, in amplification and " regular disposition, he is said to have been " inferior to none. With great knowledge of " art, he was, however, defective in the *ars* " *celare artem*, an essential ingredient in the " composition of an orator. His personal ap- " pearance too, which is not very prepossessing

" or agreeable, must have operated against him,
" and rendered his eloquence less effective and
" resistless. Notwithstanding these defects, he
" was considerably above mediocrity, and main-
" tained a character as an orator, inferior to but
" few in this country.

" Mr. Adams's prominent inclination, how-
" ever, appears to be political. To be eminent
" as a statesman is his predominant ambition;
" and I doubt not he will attain this character
" from the nature of his mind and the tenor of
" his studies.

" To extensive research and general know-
" ledge, Mr. A. adds great powers of observa-
" tion. His residence as minister at the courts
" of St. James and St. Petersburg, has enlarged
" his stock of facts, and rendered his information
" more correct and practical. He is not one of
" those statesmen who theorise when experience
" can afford its aid, and avoids the application
" of abstract principles, when plainer and more
" obvious ones are calculated to subserve the
" object in view. He is sedate, circumspect,
" and cautious; reserved, but not distant; grave,
" but not repulsive. He receives, but seldom
" communicates, and discerns with great quick-
" ness, motives however latent, and intentions
" however concealed by the contortions of cun-

" ning, or the drapery of hypocrisy.—Mr.
" Adams has more capacity than genius; he
" can comprehend better than he can invent;
" and execute nearly as rapidly as he can design.

" Though as a public minister, he had no
" great opportunity to display his powers, yet,
" from the little he exhibited, a judgment may
" be formed of his ability in that character. He
" has all the penetration, shrewdness, and perse-
" verance, necessary to constitute an able diplo-
" matist, united with the capacity to perceive,
" and the eloquence to enforce, what would con-
" duce to the welfare and interest of his coun-
" try.

" Mr. Crawford, Secretary of the Treasury,
" though he possesses great dignity, wants the
" graceful elegance of manners of which I have
" previously spoken. What he was thought of
" in France I cannot inform you; but it is im-
" possible he could have succeeded amidst the
" polite and splendid frippery of the Parisian
" circles—the courtly nonsense, and graceful
" and elegant *nonchalance* of a French politi-
" cian, must have been strikingly and ludicrous-
" ly contrasted by the republican simplicity and
" awkward movements of the American minis-
" ter. Mr. Crawford has risen from obscurity,
" to the situation he now holds, by the force

" of native genius. It appears he was employed
" in his early life in an occupation which is now
" unfortunately too much degraded, but which
" ought to be more highly esteemed: I mean,
" that of 'teaching the young idea how to shoot.'
" His next career was at the bar, at which
" he rapidly acquired both emolument and
" reputation. The excellence of his under-
" standing, and the superiority of his intellect,
" soon brought him into public life, where he
" displayed to advantage those powers with
" which nature had so eminently gifted him.
" He became ambassador to France, and while
" in that capacity, was appointed Secretary of
" War, and lastly chosen Minister of Finance.
" In all these various situations he has never
" failed to discover the same powers and ener-
" gies of mind, and the same acuteness and
" depth of penetration: he has literally the
" *mens sana in corpore sano;* and the vigorous
" and athletic appearance of his body serves as
" an unerring index to the force and energy of
" his intellect. It is invidious to make com-
" parisons; but it is by comparisons we are
" often enabled to arrive at truth. I will there-
" fore endeavour to draw a parallel between the
" gentlemen of whom I have been speaking.
" Mr. Monroe and Mr. Crawford, are alike

" distinguished by integrity of understanding;
" but the latter has more quickness, and the
" former a greater range of mind. In the
" specimens of parliamentary eloquence, which
" are preserved here only in the ephemeral and
" fugitive columns of newspapers, and which I
" have taken the trouble to examine for my own
" amusement, Mr. Crawford evinces some vigour
" of imagination, and occasionally some brilliancy
" of thought. Mr. Monroe has never wished
" to excel in the flowery parterre of fancy; his
" compositions display only the soundness of his
" judgment, and the excellence of his sense,
" without any of the frippery and festooning
" of rhetoric, or the meretricious and extrinsic
" drapery of imagination. Mr Monroe has more
" practical knowledge, but is less prompt in his
" decisions. Mr. Crawford has greater powers of
" invention, but is less skilful in combination.
" Mr. Monroe has had more experience; but Mr.
" Crawford, from a better memory and a supe-
" rior quickness of comprehension, has treasured
" up as many results, and acquired as many
" facts. Mr. Monroe's knowledge of mankind
" is more correct and more practical, but he
" wants Mr. Crawford's energy to render it
" extensively useful. In political shrewdness,

" moral integrity, and intellectual acquirements,
" they are supposed to be nearly equal.

" Mr. Calhoun is a young man, of about thirty-
" five years of age: his form is above the middle
" size, but meagre, bony, and slender: his face
" wants beauty, but his eye possesses all the
" brilliancy and fire of genius. He is a native of
" the south, and has, I undertand been educated
" for the bar. He started up, on the theatre of
" legislation, a political Roscius, and astonished
" the veterans around him by the power of his
" mind, and the singularity and resistlessnes of
" his eloquence. He has the ingenuity without
" the sophistry of Godwin, to whose mind I
" think his bears no trifling analogy. On
" all subjects, whether abstract or ordinary,
" whether political or moral, he thinks with a
" rapidity that no difficulties can resist, and
" with a novelty that never fails to delight. He
" has the brilliancy without the ornament of
" Burke, the fire without the literature of Pitt.
" With an invention, which never abandons
" him, and whose fertility astonishes, he seems
" to lothe the parade of rhetoric, and the glit-
" ter and decorations of art. His stile of
" eloquence is peculiar and extraordinary;
" without any apparent pageantry of imagina-
" tion, or any of the flower-woven beauties of

"language, he seizes on the mind; which, "like the unfortunate bird under the influence "of fascination, becomes passive and obedient "to the power it neither can nor wishes to "resist. In the 'tempest and wilderness' of "his eloquence, his argumentation is so rapid, "his thoughts are so novel, and his conclusions "so unexpected, yet apparently correct, that "you can neither anticipate nor think; the "attention is rivetted, and the mind occupied "alone with the subject which he is handling, "and it is not until the fascination of his manner "has subsided, that you can feel inclined to "reason, or become capable of detecting his "errors. And yet, he has never been known "to attempt but one rhetorical flourish, and in "that he unfortunately failed. His oratorical "style has none of the embellishments of art, "or the witcheries of fancy, but is almost to "dryness, plain, unadorned and concise. He "has nothing in him poetical—his creations are "not those of imagination, in which I think he is "somewhat deficient. You never see him em- "ployed in weaving garlands, or strewing "flowers on your path; he never strives to 'lap "in Elysium,' or to delight in the rainbow "colours and the blaze of fancy. His light

" is the light of reason, clear, unrefracted, and " luminous.

" With all the excellencies I have mentioned, " Mr. Calhoun has some great faults. He wants, " I think, consistency and perseverance of mind, " and seems incapable of long continued and " patient investigation. What he does not see " at the first examination, he seldom takes pains " to search for; but still the lightning glance " of his mind, and the rapidity with which he " analyzes, never fail to furnish him with all " that may be necessary for his immediate pur- " poses. In his legislative career, which, though " short, was uncommonly luminous, his love " of novelty, and his apparent solicitude to " astonish were so great, that he has occasion- " ally been known to go beyond even the " dreams of political visionaries, and to propose " schemes which were in their nature impracti- " cable or injurious, and which he seemed to " offer merely for the purpose of displaying the " affluence of his mind, and the fertility of his " ingenuity. Youth, and the necessary want of " experience, may be pleaded as an apology for " his eccentricities of conduct, and his apparent " aberrations. The wisdom of age, and a " more correct and extensive acquaintance with " men and things, will doubtless allay the ardour

" of his mind, and lessen the fervour of his tem-
" perament. In short, Mr. Calhoun is one of
" those beings whom you can only trace like
" the comet, by the light which he casts upon
" his path, or the blaze which he leaves in his
" train. But the situation to which he has
" recently been elevated, has, I fear, abridged
" his sphere of usefulness; and, as Secretary of
" War, Mr. Calhoun, who occupied every
" tongue during the sessions of the national
" legislature, may dwindle into obscurity, but
" will never be forgotten."

" Mr. Clay is a delegate from Kentucky, and
" not long ago flourished, you will recol-
" lect, as one of the American Commissioners
" at Ghent. He is a tall, thin, and not very
" muscular man; his gait is stately, but swing-
" ing; and his countenance, while it indicates
" genius, denotes dissipation. As an orator, Mr.
" Clay stands high in the estimation of his coun-
" trymen, but I cannot say that he possesses
" much gracefulness, or elegance of manner;
" his eloquence is impetuous and vehement; it
" rolls like a torrent, but like a torrent which is
" sometimes irregular and occasionally obstruct-
" ed; though there is a want of rapidity and
" fluency in his elocution, yet he has a great
" deal of fire and vigour in his expression;

" when he speaks, he is full of animation and " earnestness; his face brightens, his eye beams " with additional lustre, and his whole figure " indicates that he is entirely occupied with the " subject on which his eloquence is employed. " In action, Mr. Clay is neither very graceful, " nor very imposing. In his gesticulation and " attitudes, there is sometimes a uniformity and " an awkwardness that lessens his merit as an " orator, and in some measure destroys the im- " pression and effect his eloquence would other- " wise produce. Mr. Clay does not seem to " have studied rhetoric as a science, or to have " paid much attention to those artificial divi- " sions and rhetorical graces and ornaments, on " which the orators of antiquity so strongly " insist. Mr. Clay, however, is an eloquent " speaker, and notwithstanding the defects I " have mentioned, very seldom fails to please " and to convince. His mind is so organized, " that he overcomes the difficulties of the most " abstruse and complicated subjects, apparently " without the toil of investigation, or the labour " of profound research. It is rich, and active, " and rapid, grasping at one glance, connections " the most distant, and consequences the most " remote, and breaking down the trammels of " error, and the cobwebs of sophistry. When

" he rises to speak, he always commands atten-
" tion, and almost always satisfies the mind on
" which his eloquence is intended to operate.
" The warmth and fervour of his feelings, and
" and the natural impetuosity of his character,
" which seems to be common to the Kentucki-
" ans, often, indeed, leads him to the adoption
" of opinions, which are not, at all times, con-
" sistent with the dictates of sound policy.
" Though ambitious and persevering, his inten-
" tions are good, and his heart is pure."

" Mr. Forsyth, I cannot pass over with-
" out some notice. He is a young man, of
" handsome person, and agreeable manners; he
" seems to be about thirty-five years of age;
" his countenance possesses a great deal of
" sweetness and benignancy, is very preposses-
" sing and very regular. He has, like most of
" the members of the American Congress, been
" educated for the bar, at which he has prac-
" tised for some years, with considerable suc-
" cess. I think Mr. Forsyth has some ambition,
" and is solicitous to render himself conspicuous
" in political life. His talents are by no means
" of an ordinary character, and were he to
" devote more of his time to the improvement
" of his mind, and the acquisition of that various
" and general knowledge, so essential to a

" statesman, he would have but few superiors
" in this country. At present, he is regarded
" as the organ of the administration, and whe-
" ther he desire it or not, is doubtless in a fair
" way to acquire preferment and distinction.
" But the stand which he has recently taken
" against the recognition of South American
" Independence, will not, I think, render him
" very popular with the mass of the people of
" this country, who are, as far as I have had an
" opportunity to judge, friendly to the struggles
" of their southern brethren.—He is a fine, and
" sometimes, an eloquent speaker; his voice is
" harmonious, and susceptible of great modula-
" tion; but not sonorous or powerful. He
" wants impetuosity and vehemence, but sup-
" plies this deficiency by a constant, regular,
" and uninterrupted flow, which resembles a
" a stream where no rocks arise, or projections
" intervene, to disturb the gentle motion of its
" current."

" Mr. William Pinkney is a native of Mary-
" land. His parents, though indigent and
" obscure, were yet animated by a strong desire
" of making their son great and illustrious. To
" effect this object, they exerted every effort
" within the range of their ability, and gave
" him such an education as their limited means

" would warrant. Mr. Pinkney was an orator " by nature. He has occupied some honour- " able and important stations under the Amer- " ican government; and though, in the dis- " charge of his official functions, he has not fully " realized public expectation, yet he has not " fallen very far below it.

" Mr. Pinkney is between fifty and sixty " years of age. His form is sufficiently elevated " and compact to be graceful; and his counte- " nance, though marked by the lines of dissi- " pation, and rather too heavy, is not unpreposs- " sessing or repulsive. His eye is rapid in its " motion, and beams with the animation of " genius; but his lips are too thick, and his " cheeks too fleshy and loose for beauty; there " is, too, a degree of foppery, and sometimes of " splendour, manifested in the decoration of his " person, which is not perfectly reconcileable " to my ideas of mental superiority; and an " appearance of voluptuousness about him, " which is only calculated to suit the meridian " of Greece, and the soft and debilitating climate " of the Egean isles, but which cannot surely " be a source of pride, or of gratification to one " whose mind is so capacious and elegant. I " should imagine, however, that this character " was barely assumed for the purpose of exciting

"a higher admiration of his powers, by
"inducing a belief that, without the labour
"of study, or the toil of investigation, he can
"attain the object of his wishes, and become
"eminent without designing to resort to that
"painful drudgery, by which meaner minds,
"and more inferior intellects are enabled to
"arrive at excellence and distinction. At the
"first glance, you would imagine Mr. Pinkney
"was one of those butterflies of fashion, known
"by their eccentricities of dress, and peculiari-
"ties of costume; and no one could believe,
"from his external appearance, that he was in
"the least degree, intellectually superior to his
"fellow-men. But Mr. Pinkney is, indeed, a
"wonderful man, and one of those beings whom
"the lover of human nature feels a delight in
"contemplating. His mind is, I think, of the
"very first order---quick, expanded, fervid, and
"powerful. The hearer is at a loss which most
"to admire, the vigour of his judgment, the
"fertility of his invention, the strength of his
"memory, or the power of his imagination.
"Each of these faculties he possesses in an equal
"degree of perfection, and each is displayed in its
"full maturity, when the magnitude of the
"subject, on which he descants, renders its ope-
"ration necessary. This singular union of the

" rare and precious gifts of nature has received
" all the strength education could afford, and
" all the polish and splendour art could bestow.
" Under the cloak of dissipation and voluptu-
" ousness, his application has been indefatigable,
" and his studies unintermitted; the oil of the
" midnight lamp has been exhausted, and the
" labyrinths of knowledge have been explored.

" Mr. Pinkney is never unprepared, and
" never off his guard; he encounters his subject
" with a mind rich in all the gifts of nature, and
" fraught with all the resources of art and study.
" He enters the list with his antagonist armed,
" like the ancient cavalier, cap-a-pié; and is alike
" prepared to wield the lance, or to handle the
" the sword, as occasion may require. In cases
" which embrace all the complications and intri-
" cacies of law, where reason seems to be lost in
" the ocean of technical perplexity; and obscu-
" rity and darkness assume the dignified cha-
" racter of science, he displays an extent of
" research, a range of investigation, a lucidness
" of reasoning, and a fervour and brilliancy of
" thought, that excite our wonder, and elicit
" our admiration. On the driest, most abstract,
" and uninteresting questions of law, when no
" mind can anticipate such an occurrence, he
" occasionally blazes forth in all the enchanting

" exuberance of a chastened, but a rich and vivid
" imagination, and paints, in a manner, as classical
" as it is splendid, and as polished as it is brilliant.
" His order is lucid, his reasoning logical, his dic-
" tion select, magnificent, and appropriate, and his
" style flowing, oratorical, and beautiful. The
" most laboured and finished composition could
" not be better than that which he seems to
" utter spontaneously, and without effort. His
" judgment, invention, memory, and imagina-
" tion, all conspire to furnish him at once with
" whatever he may require to enforce, embellish,
" or beautify what he says. On the dullest
" subject he is never dry, and no one leaves him
" without feeling an admiration at his powers,
" that borders on enthusiasm. His satire is
" keen, but delicate; and his wit, scintillating
" and brilliant. His treasure is exhaustless:—
" possessing the most extensive and varied infor-
" mation, he never feels at a loss, and he orna-
" ments and illuminates every subject he
" touches."

" Mr. Rufus King is a senator from the state
" of New York, and was once, you will recollect,
" minister resident at the court of St. James.
" He is now about sixty years of age, above the
" middle size, and somewhat inclined to corpu-
" lency. His countenance, when serious and

" thoughtful, possesses a great deal of austerity " and rigour; but at other moments it is " marked with placidity and benevolence. " Among his friends he is facetious and easy; " but when with strangers, reserved and distant; " apparently indisposed to conversation, and " inclined to taciturnity; but when called out, " his colloquial powers are of no ordinary cha- " racter, and his conversation becomes peculiarly " instructive, fascinating, and humourous. Mr. " King has read and reflected much; and " though long in public life, his attention has " not been exclusively devoted to the political " sciences, for his information on other subjects " is equally matured and extensive. His " resources are numerous and multiplied, and " can easily be called into operation In his " parliamentary addresses he always displays a " deep and intimate knowledge of the subject " under discussion, and nevers fails to edify and " instruct; if he sometimes ceases to delight. He " has read history to become a statesman, and " not for the mere gratification it affords. He " applies the experience of ages, which the his- " torical muse exhibits, to the general purposes " of government, and thus reduces to practice " the mass of knowledge with which his mind " is fraught and embellished. As a legislator,

" he is, perhaps, inferior to no man in this " country. The faculty of close and accurate " observation, by which he is distinguished, has " enabled him to remark and treasure up every " fact of political importance that has occurred " since the organization of the American govern- " ment; and the citizen, as well as the stranger, " is often surprised at the minuteness of his his- " torical details; the facility with which they " are recalled; and the corrrectness and accuracy " with which they are applied. With the va- " rious subjects immediately connected with " politics he has made himself well acquainted; " and such is the strength of his memory, " and the extent of his information, that the " accuracy of his statements is never disputed. " Mr. King has a sound and discriminating " mind, a memory uncommonly tenacious, " and a judgment vigorous, prompt, and deci- " sive. He either wants imagination, or is " unwilling to employ a faculty that he con- " ceives only calculated to tickle and delight. " His object, is more to convince and persuade " by the force of reason, than to play upon the " mind by the fantastic embroidery and gaudy " festoonings of fancy. His style of eloquence " is plain, but bold and manly; replete with " argument, and full of intelligence; neither

"impetuous nor vehement, but flowing and "persuasive. His mind, like that of Fox, is "*historical;* it embraces consequences the most "remote without difficulty, and effects the most "distant with rapidity and ease. Facts form "the basis of his reasoning. Without these his "analysis is defective, and his combinations and "deductions often incorrect. His logic is not "artificial, but natural; he abandons its formal "divisions, non-essentials, moods, and figures, to "weaker minds, and adheres to the substantials "of natural reason."

I have copied for you the character of Mr. King, although I had left Washington before he took his seat. He stands in the very first rank of the public characters, whom I saw or heard of during my visit there. Most of the members seemed to arrive very early in the session. I think I never was more deeply impressed with the extent and grandeur of the Confederation of the United States, than while sitting in the capitol, and seeing the Trans-Alleghanian Representatives drop in, day by day, from Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, or the Senator from Louisiana salute his fellow-citizen, the Senator from New Hampshire, 2000 miles distant, shake hands with the Senators from Carolina and Georgia, and engage at once

in a discussion on some point of foreign or domestic policy, in which all these distant States were equally concerned. The effect was greatly heightened one day, by a debate on the application for admission into the Union, on the part of the district of Maine and the territory of Missouri, 1500 miles distant from each other; the one more than half as large, and the other larger than England and Wales.

I never felt so much disposed to excuse the inflated ideas and extravagant anticipations which many Americans indulge, when contemplating the future destinies of their infant country; nor did I ever feel so desirous that our Government, and my countrymen in general, should awaken from their supercilious disregard of the growing greatness of America, to a more attentive observation of the rapid developement of her resources, and a more correct appreciation of their ultimate extent. It was a great advantage to me to reach Washington so soon after my arrival in America, and to meet there the most distinguished men from different parts of the United States. I found them generally extremely kind and communicative, and very well informed on most topics, connected with the practical business of life. Many of them seemed to have read and reflected much on the

leading questions in legislation and jurisprudence; but there is a lamentable deficiency of information, on these points, in some of the Legislatures of the new states.

"I have been at several very pleasant parties in Charleston, particularly one at Mr.—'s. We sate down to a splendid dinner, at which there were nearly thirty ladies and gentlemen, of the principal families of South Carolina. In the evening, we had an addition of nearly forty young persons, and music, conversation, books, engravings, &c. supplied amusement, suited to the varied tastes and characters of the company. The *tout ensemble* was in the style of a similar party in the fashionable circles in England."

The other day, I dined with the Governor of the State, to whom I was introduced by Col. ——, of Columbia, whom I met at the Planter's Hotel, where I am staying, and who invited me, as many of my friends here have done, to spend some days on his plantation. There was a large party at the Governor's; and I observed that I was the only person not in boots. This surprised me at a Carolinian's; but in ladies' parties they are more particular, and the Governor is a plain man, not in the habit, I believe, of mixing familiarly with the fashionable circles.

I met there the son of the present Spanish Governor of Florida, just arrived from St. Augustine; and a young friend accompanied me, with whom I have not yet made you acquainted. He was my travelling companion in the stage nearly all the way from Washington; and I was soon attracted by his intelligence and gentlemanly manners. He seemed to be intimately acquainted with all the leading characters at Washington, very familiar with the institutions and history of the United States, and not less so with those of Great Britain. I soon discovered that he was in the law, and resident at Washington, but had shrewd suspicions that he was not a native American. My curiosity increased as I saw more of him; and on our arrival at Charleston, I found that many of our letters of introduction were to the same persons. I then discovered that he was the son of Mr. Law, who lives near Washington, and the nephew of Lord Ellenborough. He was going to Florida, to acquire some acquaintance with the Spanish tenures of land there, in anticipation of that country being ceded to America, and in the expectation that disputed claims would give rise there, as they had done in Louisiana, to much litigation, and would require an accurate knowledge of the nature of the

grants under which the original proprietors derived their title from the Spanish Government. It is astonishing how extensive and lucrative this description of practice has proved to the lawyers in Louisiana. My legal friend and I are staying at the Planter's Hotel, where we see a constant succession of strangers from the other States, planters from the interior, and foreigners just landed. We had lately a large party, arrived from the Havannah, after a passage of five days. One of them was a physician, who dissuaded me from visiting that city, on my way to New Orleans, as I had at one time intended, by representations of the yellow fever being prevalent there.

Letter VI.

Indian Agency on the Flint River,
22nd March, 1820.

It was with much regret that I left several kind and interesting friends whom I had met with at Charleston. Our last day there was Sunday; and the diminution of carriages at the church door evinced that the fashionable society was dispersing, and that many families had already retired to their plantations after the races. The places of worship appeared well filled; but many of the streets were noisy I was told also that gambling was going on to a great extent, in a detached building belonging to the hotel where I was staying; but as I have sometimes heard the same rumour at hotels in Bath and London, let us hope that it was a libellous report. I was pleased to see the slaves apparently enjoying themselves on this day in their best attire, and was amused with their manners towards each other. They generally use Sir and Madam in addressing each other, and make the most formal and particular inquiries after each other's families. They frequently adopt the

names of the families in which they live. Thus the principal male-servant in Col. F.'s family, is Col. F.; the principal female servant, Mrs. F.; while half a dozen Miss F.'s will give their names to as many chamber-maids if they have them. In the evening I visited the prison, as I have done in most towns where I had the opportunity; but the turnkey was intoxicated, and I could obtain little information as to the general plan of management. The prisoners, I understood from an assistant, have a liberal allowance of meat, bread, and broth, daily; but no work, and no instruction, except from occasional visits of the clergy, of whom the black ministers are the most assiduous. I saw one earnestly engaged in prayer with the black prisoners, of whom one was just committed for the murder of his master. The black are separated from the white prisoners, the male from the female, the greater from the lesser criminals. I saw and conversed with the murderer of Dr. Ramsay, the historian. I was told that the crime occurred under the following circumstances. The man having shot a lawyer whom he had retained on some business, Dr. Ramsay gave evidence that he was insane; the maniac learnt this, watched an opportunity, and shot him also. He has been confined in prison

ever since, and is a pitiable object. If you are as well acquainted with the character of Mrs. Ramsay, as, from its uncommon excellence, I hope you are, you will be interested by this allusion to her husband. If you have never met with her "Memoirs," let me entreat you to forego no longer the gratification and improvement you can hardly fail to derive from them. They exhibit a character which will not shrink from a comparison with that of the most eminent female Christians of any age or country. Her father, Colonel Laurens, was President of the Congress during the revolutionary war; and it is delightful to read the liberal and pacific sentiments which his letters to his daughter breathe at the very moment when his plantations were overrun by British soldiery, and the lives of himself and his family were in imminent danger. Surely it would tend greatly to increase our detestation of war, and all its outrages, if we allowed our imagination to dwell more on the friendly sentiments which the liberal and Christian part of hostile nations often feel towards each other, at the very moment when public animosity and fury rage the loudest. In 1776, Colonel Laurens writes from Charleston, to his daughter then in England—

"Act your part well, my dear: love God,

and all things will work together for your good. It is melancholy to see the abuse of many good houses in this town, which are now made barracks for the country militia, who strip the paper hangings, chop wood upon parlour floors, and do a thousand improper acts. The men of war at Georgia have swept Mr. Arthur Middleton's plantation, upon Savannah river, of about sixty-five Negroes. Wright's Savannah is within three or four miles of it; probably some solitary escaping man may come within two or three days to inform me of like mischiefs done there, and at Altamaha, by those Sabeans and Chaldeans. Be it so, I will say, "blessed be the "name of the Lord." We must expect a visit from the British very soon. In these circumstances every man here holds his life by the most precarious tenure, and our friends abroad should prepare themselves for learning that we are numbered with the dead. You will in silence submit the future progress and final determination of events to the wise order of that superintending Being who holds the scales of justice in his hand. Your part will be to join with the sons and daughters of piety, and pray incessantly for peace;—peace to all the world, especially the country in which you reside (England,) and that to which you more

particularly belong (America;) and you will lament that it is your father's unhappy lot to be engaged in war—in civil war—God's severest scourge upon mankind."

These sentiments are worthy a Christian father, when addressing his Christian child; and cold and base must be that heart which could feel hostile to an enemy who could breathe them at such a moment of suffering and irritation.

We set out from Charleston soon after my last letter, and arrived at Savannah the following afternoon, travelling all night, and completing in the *mail stage* 110 miles in twenty-seven hours. On mounting our sorry vehicle, we found our equipage reduced to a peace establishment of two horses, and our stages were occasionally thirty miles long. We saw nothing particularly interesting in our route, except the cotton plantations, where the Negroes were hard at work under a broiling sun, which does not seem to annoy them. Experience had taught us not to trust to this deceitful climate; and we found our sea-coats insufficient to protect us against the excessive cold of the night. In passing through the swamps, we were enveloped in a thick mist, which in summer, must be highly dangerous. Indeed our driver told us, that on two stages on this road

83390

last autumn, they lost five drivers, who fell a sacrifice to fever. In the middle of the night, I heard the howling of wolves; and when walking before the stage, as we approached Savannah, I started an alligator about six yards from me, which plunged off the road into some water. It was then as intensely hot as it had been cold a few nights before.

Savannah is situated on a river of the same name, and is laid out in long and very broad streets, which meet at right angles, and are lined with trees called "The Pride of India." This tree is a great favourite with the inhabitants; but it is too strongly associated in my mind with yellow fever, to be agreeable. The streets are unpaved; and, except in the middle path, which is a heavy disagreeable sand, they are covered with grass. The horses, as in most of the towns in the south, are unshod.

The late fire has given the town a most desolate appearance, yet the inhabitants are most inconsiderately running up *wooden* houses again with great rapidity. Fires are continually occurring in this country. A large one happened while I was at Savannah; another at Charleston; and we had a serious alarm at Washington. Brick houses, however, are daily becom-

ing more common. In Charleston a person is stationed every night on the steeple of one of the churches, to watch and give the alarm in case of fire, as the inhabitants are never free from the apprehension of an insurrection of the slaves in the confusion of a premeditated or accidental conflagration. The late fire in Savannah produced many instances of individual generosity, as well as proofs of general liberality in the other states. A letter of the Mayor, returning the New York contribution, of nearly £3000, because it was accompanied with a request that it might be impartially distributed among the black and white sufferers, a request implying a reflection which excited resentment, was not generally approved. It shows, however, very strongly, the sensitive state of feeling on the subject of slavery between the northern and southern States.

Of the society at Savannah I saw little, except of the merchants in their counting-houses; and, after spending a short time at an extensive rice plantation in the neighbourhood, I set off in the stage for Augusta on the 11th. My servant had gone forward the preceding day, when the stage was filled with gamblers returning in ill humour from Savannah, where the inhabitants, in consequence of their recent

calamity, had decided that there should be no races.

In proceeding from the coast to Augusta, 200 miles in the interior, we passed for forty or fifty miles along a level plain; the greater part of which is covered with lofty forests of pine, oak, elm, tulip, plane, and walnut. About one-third of this plain consists of immense swamps, which, interlocking with each other, form part of a long chain, which stretches for several hundred miles along the coast of Georgia and the Carolinas, penetrating from ten to thirty miles into the interior. In these swamps, in addition to the trees above mentioned, we met with cypress trees of an enormous growth, beech, maple, the magnolia grandiflora, azalias, andromedas, and a variety of flowering shrubs, whose names I would send you if I were a botanist. Soon after leaving the plain, we reached what are called the Sandhills, 200 to 300 feet above the level of the sea, when extensive forest plains and green savannahs, and occasional ascents of more or less abrupt elevation, succeed each other, until you approach Augusta. There we found ourselves surrounded by immense cotton plantations, and all "the pomp and circumstance" of commerce; carts coming in from the country with cotton, and crowding the

streets, or rather avenues, of this rural town; tradesmen and agents bustling about in different directions; wharfs loaded with bales; and steam-boats darkening the air with their black exhalations. At the hotel where I lodged, there were seventy persons daily at table; but General ——, who was there with his lady and staff, gave me a polite invitation to join his party, of which I occasionally availed myself. On the 13th, I went to visit a very extensive and opulent cotton planter, a few miles from Augusta. I found him quite alone, having come from Charleston to superintend his plantation for two or three weeks. He was a mile or two from home when I arrived, and a little slave was sent to help me to find him in the woods.

I remained with my host till the following day, and found him very sensible and intelligent, and full of information with respect to the present and former state of the country. I enjoyed my *tête-à-tête* visit greatly; although the side-saddles which I saw in the log-stable, and the ladies' names in the books which composed the little library, occasionally seduced my imagination from our disquisitions on the expense of producing rice and cotton, to the reading and riding parties which were to give

interest and animation to these sylvan solitudes, as soon as the summer should drive the female part of the family from the city. The fact is, this residence is a wooden house, with a convenient establishment, erected in one of the healthy spots which I have described as occasionally found in the pine barrens; and, although there appeared to be only just room for the house to stand, my host was regretting that a few trees had been unnecessarily cut down in his absence, and he had planted others in their room. I observed too, that the vegetable matter under the trees was carefully raked together, in order to be removed; and with these precautions, my host told me his family were able to spend the summer months there, while others were driven to town. He said if I would come back in the summer, instead of finding him an old bachelor, I should see him with a merry family of twelve or fifteen young people about him.

After purchasing a horse for myself and another for my servant, I left Augusta on the 17th, with the intention of proceeding overland to Mobile or New Orleans. We were a little disconcerted, on rising early that morning, to find the rain falling in torrents. As it cleared up, however, about twelve o'clock, we deter-

mined to set out; and, with our long-tailed greys, our saddle-bags, our blankets, and our pistols, we made, I assure you, no despicable appearance. After travelling about twenty-eight miles, we stopped for the night at Mrs. Harris's tavern, a small country inn by the way side. Two female Negroes were hand-picking cotton by the kitchen fire, where I took my seat, till I was unexpectedly invited to another room, where a fire had been made for me. The first question my landlady asked me, was the price of cotton at Augusta; a question which was eagerly repeated wherever I stopped.—Indeed, the fluctuations in this article came home to "the business and bosoms" of the poorest family, since every one is concerned more or less in its cultivation. While my hostess poured out my coffee, I asked her if there were any schools in the neighbourhood. She said, Oh, yes; there was an academy to which her daughter went when cotton was thirty cents per pound; that she paid three hundred dollars per annum simply for board, and fifty more for learning the *pī-ā-no!* but that, as cotton had fallen to fifteen cents she could not afford to buy an instrument, and supposed her daughter must forget her music. I could not help thinking of the farmer

Mrs. Hannah More mentions in her last work, who said he had "Frenched his daughter, and "musicked her, and was now sending her to "Paris."

We set off at six o'clock the next morning, and went twelve miles to breakfast. Here, as usual, I found several books on the chimney-piece; among which were a Bible, a Testament, a Hymn-book, a book of Geography, Kett's Elements, Lord Byron's Poems, and the Life of Harriet Newell,—the last of which I found, from a note in a blank page, was a gift from the minister of the neighbourhood to the landlord's wife. I mention these books, as they form a sort of average of those which you generally find lying about in the country inns, and which are frequently mere stragglers from no despicable library in the landlord's bed-room. A pleasing young woman, the innkeeper's wife, sat down to make breakfast for me; and I greatly enjoyed this quiet *tête-à-tête* in the country, after the promiscuous assemblage of sixty or seventy persons at the taverns in the towns. In stopping to breakfast, however, in the Southern States, you must never calculate on a detention of less than two hours, as your entertainers *will* prepare dishes of meat or

poultry for you, and both *make* and bake the bread after your arrival.

In the evening, about five o'clock, after travelling thirty-three miles, we arrived at Mr. Shivers', a neat quiet house, on the Ogechee river. Mr. Shivers is a cotton planter, a miller, a farmer, and an innkeeper. I took a letter of introduction to him, which secured me a good reception. As the following day was Sunday, I remained with this good *John Anderson* and his help-meet, and their two generations of children, till Monday, but was disappointed to find there would be no service at their church. The minister preaches three *Saturdays* and Sundays at three churches a few miles distant; but, on the fourth, which unfortunately occurred when I was there, he is beyond their limits. I found out, however, a Negro congregation, who assembled in the woods. In returning from the spot where we had assembled, I passed the church, where, as is usual on those Sundays on which there is no service, there was a meeting of the young persons in the neighbourhood, for the purpose of singing psalms. I did not join them, but counted ninety-five horses under the trees, nearly one-half of them with side-saddles; and yet the country, in passing through it,

seemed by no means thickly settled, our road being on a pine ridge; but the Americans, although enterprising and migratory, have a great aversion to walking.

In the evening, three rough back-woodsmen arrived from the Mississippi, with a wretched account of the roads; the bridges over the creeks having been almost all washed away, and the swamps being nearly impassable. Their horses were quite exhausted; and they strongly urged me not to attempt the expedition. Had I seen them before I set out, I should probably have been discouraged, as they appeared to be hardy, resolute, and experienced foresters; but I was now determined that nothing but very formidable obstacles should induce us to return. Heavy rains prevented our proceeding till eight o'clock the following morning; but we arrived at Milledgeville, the capital of Georgia, at half past five o'clock, thirty-six miles, after spending half an hour with Governor ——, who has a good house a few miles distant. We found with him two travellers, quite exhausted, who told us, that for many days they had to swim their horses over most of the flooded creeks on the road which we were going. The Governor said that the freshes had not been so great since the celebrated Yazoo freshet, more than twenty

years ago. From my window at the inn at Milledgeville, I saw the remains of a bridge which broke down a fortnight since with a waggon and six horses upon it, all of which were lost. The Oconee is here nearly twice as broad as the Lune under Lancaster Bridge.

At Milledgeville there is a very handsome prison or penitentiary, which would do credit even to Gloucester; but the critical situation of the flooded creeks rendered it imprudent to stay to inspect it. And here I recollect that I omitted to mention, that in the Charleston and Savannah jails, besides numerous pirates, there were many slaves in confinement for not giving their masters the wages they had earned. In order that you may understand this, it is necessary to tell you, that when a person has more Negroes than he can employ, he frequently either lets them out on hire, or sends them to seek employment, bringing him a proportion of what they earn. Sometimes he will set them to obtain for him a certain sum per week, and allow them to keep the remainder. You will be surprised to learn, that *children* who are thus situated, generally prefer chimney sweeping, as they can earn more by this than by any other employment; at least so I was informed at Mr. ——'s plantation, while reading to the

ladies after supper the miseries of climbing boys in England, in the last Edinburgh Review,—not indeed to reconcile them to the miseries of slavery, but partly to show them that we do not expend all our critical castigation on their side of the Atlantic. This choice of the children will surprise you. Still the system of allowing the slaves to select their own work, and to look out for employment for themselves, notwithstanding the frequent hardship attending it, is a great step toward emancipation, and an admirable preparative for it; and may we not regard it as one of the avenues through which the African will ultimately emerge from his degraded condition. Surely, the warmest advocates of perpetual slavery, if there be any, which I greatly doubt, will not contend that a man who is capable of taking care of his family while compelled to pay his owner a premium for permission to do so, will become less competent to manage his concerns when exonerated from the tax, or that he will relax in his efforts to improve his condition, because a stranger no longer divides with him the fruit of his toil. Experience will doubtless prove that slavery is a state which cannot very long consist with a general diffusion of that consciousness of their own strength, with which the habit of self-

dependence will inspire the Negroes, and which, when combined with a large numerical superiority, must ensure ultimate success to their struggles for freedom. Earnestly is it to be hoped, that long before the arrival of such a crisis, the humanity, if not the self-interest, of the master, will spare all parties the horrors usually attendant on such struggles, by laying the foundation for a safe and beneficial emancipation.

We left Milledgeville at eight o'clock on the 21st, and arrived at Fort Hawkins, 32 miles distant, at 4 o'clock in the afternoon. In the course of the day, we passed several settlements, and occasionally our eyes were regaled with a few acres of peach trees in full blossom. The cleared land, however, seldom extended into the forest above a few hundred yards from the road, and occurred but at distant intervals. Towards evening, we passed six waggons, conveying ninety slaves, belonging to General ——, removing from his plantation in Georgia, to his settlement on the Cahawba, in Alabama. I mention these little occurrences, to put you more familiarly in possession of the habits of the country. Fort Hawkins is a small quadrangle of wooden buildings, supposed, during the late war, to be of some importance in intimidating the Lower

Creek Indians, some of whom took part with the British. The whole tract cleared for the fort, and a house of entertainment for travellers, is perhaps half a mile square; and from the fort the eye looks down on an unbroken mass of pine woods, which lose themselves on every side in the horizon about twenty miles distant.

We left Fort Hawkins at seven o'clock on the 22nd, having taken care to secure our breakfast, as we knew that we should not see a habitation till we arrived at our evening quarters. About a mile from Fort Hawkins, we crossed the Oakmulgee, and entered the Indian nation of the Creeks. The Oakmulgee, in conjunction with the Oconee, forms the Altamaha, and is the last river we crossed which empties itself into the Atlantic. In the course of the day, we passed some Indians with their guns and blankets, and several waggons of emigrants from Georgia and Carolina to Alabama. We also saw many gangs of slaves whom their masters were transporting to Alabama and Mississippi, and met one party returning from New Orleans to Georgia. We were astonished to meet this solitary party going against the stream. Their driver told me that their master had removed them to New Orleans, where they arrived three days before Christmas. In less than a fortnight he found that he did not like the place, and ordered them back again

to Georgia. They set out on the 1st Jan. and on the 22nd March were only thus far on their way. In the course of the day, we did not pass a single house or settlement, but our pine avenue was literally without interruption for 30 miles.

The ground has undulated more than for some time past. We arrived here (at the Indian Agency) about 4 o'clock, having rested our horses a little in the wood during the day. The settlement consists of a little log-house for the Inn, and another for a small shop and a few miserable cabins for the slaves. The whole belong to Governor ——, who had given us a letter to his manager, which secured us bed and board gratis. On our arrival, some little Negro children and some Indians were amusing themselves with a monkey, dressed up like a sailor. This Agency is on the Flint River, about as wide as the Ribble near Preston. It is the first river we have seen which falls into the Gulph of Mexico, having previously joined its waters to those of the Chatahouchy. Their united streams forms the Apalachicola, which runs through West Florida. We start again early in the morning. There is only one habitation for about 60 miles; but the weather is become delightfully fine. I have been taking a beautiful star-light walk by the River, think-

ing of you all. The rivers are all subsiding, and there is nothing now to apprehend. We have been near swimming twice, our horses tails having almost disappeared. On the door opposite to me are two rattlesnakes, lately killed here. One is seven feet long, with 20 rattles.

Letter VII.

Ouchee Creek, 24th March, 1820.
(In the Nation of the Creek Indians.)

My last letter was of the 22nd instant, from the Indian Agency, on the Flint River. We crossed that river at half-past 5 o'clock, A. M. on the 23d instant, and arrived at Spaine's Inn, 28 miles, at twelve.

As we approached it, we saw some Indians in their wigwams on the road-side. One was lying asleep before the door, his head covered with a blanket; and when I pointed to him, a woman, who was sitting over him said, "Whiskey sick—Whiskey sick." Some had brought their little parcels of Indian corn from an Indian town, about eight miles distant, and were selling it to the people of the inn. The young men were shooting small birds with their bows and arrows; and the little children, who appeared very active, were trying to walk on their hands. as the children in England occasionally do.

The landlord of our little-cabin was a white man, the partner of an Indian Chief;—the

Creek Indians allowing no white person to settle in their nation, except as their partners, as husbands of Indian women, or in some way or other, closely connected with themselves. He gave us some coffee, Indian corn-bread, and bacon; a plain substantial fare, which you seldom fail to obtain throughout the nation, sometimes improved by the addition of sugar, and cream, and butter, and sometimes varied by the introduction of wild venison or wild turkies.

As we purposed sleeping in the woods that night, there being no cabin within a convenient distance, we had here to lay in provision for our horses. At four o'clock, we set out—my servant carrying a handkerchief full of Indian corn; and a large bundle of Indian corn-leaves, the substitute for hay in this country, being tied behind me on my horse, half as high as my shoulders.

On the banks of several streams, we saw parties of Indians, who had settled themselves there for a few days, to assist travellers in swimming their horses; but, as the waters had subsided, we did not require their assistance. Their rude dwellings were formed of four upright saplings, and a rough covering of pine-bark, which they strip from the trees with a neatness

and rapidity which we could not imitate. Before them, the women were sitting, dressing Indian corn or wild venison; the men lying by their side, with intelligent and happy countenances, graceful in their attitudes, and grave and dignified in their address. Some of the parties whom we passed in the glens at sunset, made a very picturesque appearance.

We rode nearly two hours, by moon-light, before we could find water for our horses: at length, observing some fires at a distance in the woods, we struck toward them; but they were surrounded by Indians, to whom we could not make ourselves intelligible. At last we discerned a stream of water, and near it two or three parties of travellers, who had already lighted their fires, by which they were toasting their bacon, and boiling their coffee. We invited ourselves to join one, consisting of a little Alabama cotton-planter and his daughter, whom we had met in the course of the day. He was in a situation of life corresponding, perhaps, with that of our second or third-rate farmers; and was bringing his daughter from school at Milledgeville, in Georgia, 300 to 400 miles from hence. They travelled in a little Jersey waggon (or dearborn, or carry-all, as this humble vehicle is variously denominated,)—

"camping out" every night, and cooking their bacon and coffee three times a day.

Some stragglers from the other parties joined us, for a little chat before bed-time; and were consulting on the propriety of proceeding directly to the end of their journey, or staying for a season, as is very common, to "make "a crop" on some of the unappropriated public lands. When they were gone, our Alabama friends sat reading by the fire for an hour or two, before they retired to rest; the little girl then ascended the waggon, and her father covered her with a blanket, spreading an umbrella over her, to protect her from the dew. As for ourselves, having secured our horses, given them their supper, and contributed our supply to the stock of wood for the night, we lay down on the blankets which we always put under our saddles, to prevent the horses backs from being galled; taking our saddle-bags for pillows, and placing our pistols by our side.

In the course of the night, a few Indians paid us a visit; walking round us, and examining us very attentively, but without speaking. The novelty of the scene, however, prevented my sleeping much. On my left hand, were my friend the Alabama planter, and his daughter, with her coffee-pot and her "Tales of My

"Landlord," at her father's feet. About 100 yards from us, were the emigrants from Georgia and Carolina, with their five or six little fires; alternately decaying till they almost disappeared, and then bursting forth with a vivid flame which illumined the intervening space, and flashed on the horses and waggons ranged around: on our right were the Indian wigwams; and before us, at a distance, some acres of pine woods on fire. Yet notwithstanding the strong light which occasionally emanated from so many sources, and the features of the grotesque which the picture certainly contained, the stillness of the night, the deep blue of the sky above us, and the sombre colouring of the heavy forests in which we were enveloped, imparted to this novel scene a character of solemnity which preponderated over every other expression.

We set off as soon as it was light; and passing several creeks, arrived at the extremity of a ridge, from which we looked down into a savannah, in which is situated the Indian town of Co-se-ta, on the Chatahouchy. It appeared to consist of about 100 houses, many of them elevated on poles from two to six feet high, and built of unhewn logs, with roofs of bark, and little patches of Indian corn before the

doors. The women were hard at work, digging the ground, pounding Indian corn, or carrying heavy l ..ds of water from the river: the men were either setting out to the woods with their guns, or lying idle before the doors; and the children were amusing themselves in little groups. The whole scene reminded me strongly of some of the African towns, described by Mungo Park. In the centre of the town, we passed a large building, with a conical roof, supported by a circular wall about three feet high: close to it was a quadrangular space, enclosed by four open buildings, with rows of benches rising one above another. The whole was appropriated, we were informed, to the great council of the town, who meet, under shelter, or in the open air, according to the weather. Near the spot was a high pole, like our May-poles, with a bird at the top, round which the Indians celebrate their green-corn dance. The town or township of Co-se-ta is said to be able to muster 700 warriors, whilst the number belonging to the whole nation is not estimated at more than 3500.

About a mile from the town we came to the Chatahouchy, a beautiful river. We were ferried over by Indians, who sang in response; the Indian muses, like their eastern sisters,

appearing to "love alternate song." Their dress frightened our horses; and as we were pushing from the shore, a young hunter leapt into the boat, with no other covering than his shirt and belt, and his bow and arrows slung behind. One of the boatmen had lost an ear, which he had forfeited for some infraction on the laws of his country.

We arrived at Ouchee Bridge about one o'clock; and our horses being rather tired, we determined to rest the remainder of the day at a stand kept by a young man from Philadelphia, whose partner is a half-breed. I slept in a log-cabin, without windows; and supped with my host and several unwashed artificers, and unshaven labourers, who, according to the custom of this part of the country, even when not within Indian limits, sat down with us in their shirt-sleeves, fresh from their labours. Our host had killed a *panther** a few days previously, within twenty yards of the house.

* The true panther is not a native of North America, but the name is given, at least, by the common people and half-breed Indians, both to the Ocelot of naturalists, or Felis Pardalis, which is spotted, and to the Puma, or Felis Concolor, vel Felis Puma, which is an uniform tawny colour. In travelling in the nation of the Choctaw Indians, in the forests of the Mississippi, we started two animals, which bounded from us with a sort of careless independence. They were of a tawny

Ouchee Creek, which is here to form the boundary between Alabama and Georgia, when the Indian title is extinguished, derives its name from the Ouchees, a conquered tribe of Indians; many of whom were long held in captivity by the victorious Creeks. We saw several of them, who exhibited in the subdued and dejected expression of their countenances, indications of their degraded condition.

Their language is a very peculiar one, and is said not to be understood by any other Indian nation. I have also heard that the children of other tribes who have been brought up among them, have been unable to learn it; but this I take the liberty to doubt. The person who keeps this house is an American, of the name of A——, from Philadelphia. His partner is Colonel L——, a half-breed, and an Indian chief. A—— has a license

colour; and as we had heard the American panther described as spotted, we concluded they were wolves, although much larger than any wolves we had ever seen. In the evening, at the log-house of our host, who was an intelligent half-breed Indian, of some consequence, we found several Indians and half-breeds: and on describing the animals we had seen, they all assured us they were panthers, which are numerous in that wild part of the country. On my observing that I thought the panther was spotted, they said some panthers were spotted, and some of an uniform yellow or tawny colour; that they often shot both.

from the United States to trade with the Indians, and is making a rapid fortune, as the charges to travellers are very high, and those who "camp out" have to replenish their corn and fodder at these distant stands, where it is sold at more than double the price which is paid for it to the Indians. Wild venison and wild turkies killed by the Indians, bacon fed in the woods, and poultry raised about the house, all cost the landlord little, whilst the absence of competition, and the necessities of the traveller, compel him to submit to any arbitrary charge. I shall give you an account of my expenses across the wilderness, when I arrive at New Orleans. The only bed-room here is a log building of one story in the yard, with three beds, such as they are; it has no window, and a clay floor, but a disposition to make the guests comfortable, which I have uniformly found, has hitherto left me nothing to regret with respect to accommodation.

So far, I have never had to admit any one into my bed-room, except my servant for one night, or I believe two. While writing, I have been interrupted and amused by Mukittaw, a fine Indian lad, half friend, half servant to my host, whom he follows on a three-year old colt, for which his master gave 70 guineas the other day in

Tennessee. He has been much pleased in examining my little shaving apparatus, and my pocket inkstand; and in return, has been telling me the Indian names of different articles of dress. Here are some of them: o-kof-ti-ka, shirt; a-fat-i-ka, gaiters; de-le-shi-va-na-ta, garers; te-le-fi-ka, mocassons.

The surface of the ground continues to form perpetual undulation. The road, which is called the Federal Road, though tolerable for horses, would with us be considered impassable for wheels.

Letter VIII.

Mobile, in the State of Alabama,
3d April, 1820.

We left Ouchee Bridge on the 26th of May; and early in the afternoon, arrived at Fort Bainbridge, where we found a stand in which the "Big Warrior" is a sleeping partner, and a head waiter from one of the principal inns in Washington, the efficient man. There is, however, another partner, of the name of Lewis, whom I found highly interesting. He had lived fifteen years in the heart of the Indian country, having married an Indian wife, and adopted the manners of the natives. He appeared to unite great mildness and intelligence; and has contracted so ardent a love of solitude, by living in the woods, that he lately removed his stand from the most profitable situation, because there was a neighbour or two within four miles.*

* "Beside a house in the village, they have generally in their conucos, near some spring, or at the entrance of a solitary valley, a small hut, covered with the leaves of the palm or plaintain tree. Though they live less commodiously in the conuco, they love to retire thither as often as they

As he was going out to hunt in the woods, for an hour or two, at sun-set, I accompanied him, glad of the opportunity of learning some particulars of the Creek Indians, from one so long and so intimately acquainted with them. The common mode of hunting here is with a couple of hounds and a gun. The dogs soon started a grey fox, which, after running about two miles, ascended a tree. They announced that they had "treed it," as our hunter termed it, by altering their cry, when Lewis hastened to the spot and shot it. *Panthers* * are *treed* and shot in a similar manner.

Lewis told me that the "Big Warrior" and the "Little Prince" are the chief speakers of the nation, or the heads of the civil department. Their dignity is not strictly hereditary, although some of the family usually succeed to it, if there be no particular objection. The chief speakers are by no means necessarily the principal *orators*, but may employ a fluent chief to convey their sentiments. Their office is to carry into effect the

can. We have already spoken of their irresistible desire of fleeing from society, and of entering again on a savage life. Among civilized nations, the passion for hunting is owing, perhaps, in part to the same sentiments, to the charm of solitude, to the innate desire of independence, to the deep impression made by nature, whenever man finds himself in company with her alone."—*Humboldt.*

* See Note, page 123.

decisions of the great council of the nation; a deliberative body, composed of chiefs from the different towns. They assemble at Tlekotska, about fifteen miles from Ouchee Creek. They cultivate eloquence with great attention, practising in private, or when hunting in small parties in the woods.

The most popular and influential person in the nation, is Mackintosh, the head warrior, a half-breed, under forty years of age, who is consulted on every occasion, and who, in a great measure, directs the affairs of his country. I saw him at Washington in the beginning of the year, on a deputation to the American government. His suite were at the inn where I staid; and on inquiring from one of his aides-du-camp, as I believed, (for they adopt our military terms,) if General Mackintosh had arrived, I was a little startled by his replying, "I am Mackintosh." He was very civil, and gave me an invitation to visit him, if I passed through the Creek nation, which at that time I did not contemplate.

My host regretted, in the most feeling terms, the injury which the morals of the Indians have sustained from intercourse with the whites; and especially from the introduction of whiskey, which has been their bane. He said that

female licentiousness before marriage is very general, and not attended with loss of character; but that conjugal infidelity is punished by whipping, shaving the head of the culprit, and sending her naked into perpetual exile; the husband being liable to suffer the same severities, if he connive at the return of his offending wife. The murderer is now executed by public authority, the law of private retaliation becoming gradually obsolete. Stealing is punished, for the first offence, by whipping; for the second, by the loss of the ears; for the third, by death: the punishment having no relation to the amount stolen. My host remembers when there was no law against stealing; the crime itself being almost unknown; when the Indians would go a hunting, or "frolicking," for one or two days, leaving their clothes on the bushes opposite their wigwams, in a populous neighbourhood, or their silver trinkets and ornaments hanging in their open huts.* Confidence and

"The Abipones of Paraguay are often and long absent from their homes, during which time they leave their little property without a guard, or even a door, exposed to the eyes and hands of all, with no apprehension of the loss of it, and on their return from a long journey, find every thing untouched. The doors, locks, bars, chests, and guards, with which Europeans defend their possessions from thieves, are things unknown to the Abipones, and quite unnecessary to them."—*Dobrizhoffer.*

generosity were then their characteristic virtues. A desire of gain, caught from the whites, has chilled their liberality; and abused credulity, has taught them suspicion and deceit. He considers them still attached to the English, although disappointed in the little assistance which they have derived from them in late wars. This, however, they attribute rather to the distance of the British, which renders them less valuable allies than they expected, than to a treacherous violation of their promises. Whatever the first glow of British feeling may dictate, on hearing of their attachment, enlightened humanity will not repine, if, under their present circumstances, they are becoming daily more closely connected with the American government, which has evinced an active solicitude for their civilization.

Our recluse told us that they have a general idea of a Supreme Being; but no religious days, nor any religious rites, unless, as he is disposed to believe, their green-corn dance be one. Before the corn turns yellow, the inhabitants of each town or district assemble, and a certain number enter the streets of what is more properly called the town, with the war-whoop and savage yells, firing their arrows in the air, and going several times round the pole. They then

take emetics, and fast two days, dancing round the pole a great part of the night. All the fires in the township are then extinguished, and the hearths cleared, and new fires kindled by rubbing two sticks. After this they parch some of the new corn, and feasting a little, disperse to their several homes. To the green-corn dance I find many Indians repair, who are settled in Alabama, on lands reserved for them by the United States, for services during the war. Many of the old chiefs are of opinion, that their ancestors intended this ceremony as a thank-offering to the Supreme Being, for the fruits of the earth, and for success in hunting or in war.

The dress of the Indians is picturesque, and frequently very splendid, the scalping knife always forming a part of it, and the belts and the hems of their outer garments being often very highly ornamented. I understand that the tribes which inhabit the prairies, beyond the Mississippi, use shields. The dress of the young men under 17 or 18, is like a loose dressing gown, which they occasionally close around them; and that of the girls under 14 or 15, might be still more easily described.—The women generally are clumsy, dirty, and greasy, with long black hair, and a perpetual

scowl upon their face. I saw only two handsome ones, one of whom, about 20 years of age, was very good looking. I believe when they are dressed in their gala clothes, they look much better. They are very fond of ornaments, particularly of silver. I saw one of them in her common dress selling poultry at the little inn, with four circular plates of silver hanging from her neck, the largest of which was at least two and a half inches in diameter, but very thin. I am told they have frequently fifteen or twenty. I understand that a man is allowed as many wives as he can support, and the usual number is from three to five. Mackintosh had three wives.

Lewis informed me, that the Indians often set out on long journies through the forests, without any other provision than a preparation of the flour of Indian corn, gathered while green, with honey. This mixture, dried and reduced to powder, they carry in a small bag, taking a little of it with water, once or twice in 24 hours; and it is said, that if they have the ill luck to kill no deer, or other animals, they will subsist on it for many weeks, without losing their strength: they call it *softke*.*

* The Indians of Paraguay appear to make a similar preparation. "The grains of that description of maize called bizingallo, when pounded in a wooden mortar, yield a

The more reflecting of the Creeks think much, but say little of the change which is taking place in their condition. They see plainly that, with respect to their future destiny, it is a question of civilization or extinction; and a question, the decision of which cannot be long postponed. They are therefore, become very solicitous for the establishment of schools; and the introduction of the various arts, from which the whites derive their superiority. In some of these, they have already made considerable progress, many of them possessing several hundred head of cattle; and, if the warrior do not literally turn his tomahawk and scalping-knife into pruning-hooks, he is satisfied to regard them as mere ornaments of dress, till hostilities shall again call him into the field; and is ambitious to attain distinction in agricultural pursuits. I saw several neat and flourishing little farms, as I passed through the nation;

sweet and very wholesome flour, and drank with water, either alone or mixed with honey or sugar, quickly allay hunger and the most burning thirst. This flour is the delicious food of the soldiers of St. Jago, when they pursue the fugitive savages, and by its aid they often accomplish long and arduous excursions in a few days, without ever being obliged to light a fire to cook their victuals. This flour was likewise a great relief to myself in calamitous journies under a burning sun."—*Dobrizhoffer.*

but my pleasure was alloyed by observing, that the labour generally devolved either on the African negro, or the Indian wife.* As few of the Creeks are rich enough to purchase many negroes, almost all the drudgery is performed by the women; and it is melancholy to meet them, as we continually did, with an infant hanging on their necks, bending under a heavy burden, and leading their husband's horse, while he walked before them, erect and graceful, apparently without a care. This servitude has an unfavourable effect on the appearance of the women; those above a certain age being

* "The condition of the women among the Chaymas, like that in all semibarbarous nations, is a state of privation and suffering. The hardest labour is their share: when we saw the Chaymas return in the evening from their gardens, the man carried nothing but the knife with which he clears his way among the underwood. The woman, however, bent under a great load of plantains, held a child in her arms, and sometimes two other children were placed upon the load. Notwithstanding this inequality of condition, the wives of the Indians of South America appear to be in general happier than those of the savages of the North. Between the Alleghany mountains and the Mississippi, wherever the natives do not live in great part on the produce of the chase, the women cultivate the maize beans and gourds, and the men take no share in the labours of the field. Under the torrid zone, the hunting nations are extremely scarce, and in the Missions, the men work in the field like the women."—*Humboldt's Travels.*

generally bent and clumsy, with a scowl on their wrinkled foreheads, and an expression of countenance at once vacant and dejected.

We did not leave our little cabin at Fort Bainbridge until the 28th of May, the 27th being Sunday. It is situated on the ridge, which separates the waters of the Chatahouchy from those of the Coosa and Tallapoosa; two wells, on opposite sides of the house, sending their streams into these different rivers. I was a little surprised to find there the son of the owner of one of the principal inns in Preston, in Lancashire, projecting the introduction of a woollen manufactory among the Creeks, under the sanction of the Natives.

Our host told me that he was living with his Indian wife among the Indians, when the celebrated Indian warrior Tecumseh,* came more than 1000 miles, from the borders of Canada, to induce the Lower Creeks to promise to take up the hatchet, in behalf of the

* "This noted warrior was first made known to the public as the leader of the Indians at the battle of Tippacanoe, 7th Nov. 1811. He burst suddenly into notice, but from that time until his fall, the attention of the American people was constantly rivetted upon him. He possessed all the energy, bravery, sagacity, and fortitude, for which the most distinguished aboriginal chiefs have been celebrated, and the terror of his name alone, kept the whole line of the

British, against the Americans and the Upper Creeks, whenever he should require it; that he was present at the midnight convocation of the chiefs which was held on the occasion, and which terminated, after a most impressive speech from Tecumseh, with an unanimous determination to take up the hatchet whenever he should call upon them; this was at least a year before the declaration of the last war: that when war was declared, Tecumseh came again in great agitation, and induced them to muster their warriors and rush upon the American troops. It was to quell these internal and insiduous foes, that the campaign was undertaken, during which the small stockaded mounds which I have mentioned, were thrown up in the Indian country by the Americans. It was with mingled sentiments of shame and regret, that I reflected on the miseries which *we* have at different periods introduced into the very centre of America and Africa, by exciting the Indian warrior and

north-western frontier of the United States in a constant state of alarm. He was no less an orator than a soldier, and by the persuasive power of his eloquence, formed one of the most powerful confederacies which has been attempted by the Indians within the last century. He was a Shawanee." I saw his shot pouch and belt at Mr. Jefferson's, when I visited Monticello on my return to Virginia.

Negro king to precipitate their nations into the horrors of war; but I endeavoured to dispel these melancholy feelings by the recollection of our Bible and Missionary Societies, and of that faithful band of veterans who, through "evil "report, and good report," amidst occasional success, and accumulated disappointment, still continue the undismayed, unwearied friends, of the whole family of man.

Soon after leaving our friends at Fort Bainbridge, we passed Caleebe and Cubahatchee swamps, and in the evening arrived at Lime Creek, which, we were told, forms at that place the present boundary line between the Creek Nation and Alabama. We had travelled that day about 40 miles, and had passed as usual many large parties of emigrants, from South Carolina and Georgia, and many gangs of slaves. Indeed, at the edges of the creeks and on the banks of the rivers, we usually found a curious collection of sans soucis, sulkies, carts, Jersey waggons, heavy waggons, little planters, Indians, Negroes, horses, mules, and oxen; the women and little children sitting down frequently for one, two, or three, and sometimes for five or six hours, to work or play, while the men were engaged in the almost hopeless task of dragging or swimming their

vehicles and baggage to the opposite side. Often a light carriage, with a sallow planter and his lady, would bring up the rear of a long cavalcade, and indicate the removal of a family of some wealth, who, allured by the rich lands of Alabama, or the sugar plantations on the Mississippi, had bidden adieu to the scenes of their youth, and undertaken a long and painful pilgrimage through the wilderness. We left Lime Creek early on the 29th, and after riding a few miles, arrived at Point Comfort; a fine cotton plantation, whose populous neighbourhood, and highly cultivated fields, reminded us that we were no longer travelling through a nation of hunters. Indeed, the appearance of oaks, in place of the pine woods, was indicative of a material change in the soil; and we soon opened on some of the beautiful prairies which you have frequently seen described, and which, as they were not large, reminded me of our meadows in the well wooded parts of England. As travellers, however, we paid dearly for the advantages offered to the landholders by the rich soil over which we were passing. Our road, which had hitherto been generally excellent for travelling on horseback, became as wretchedly bad; and we passed through three swamps, which I feared would ruin our horses.

They were about a mile long each ; but we estimated the fatigue of crossing any of them as equivalent to at least 15 or 20 miles of common travelling. They were overshadowed with beautiful but entangling trees, without any regular track through the verdure which covered the thick clay in which our horses frequently stuck, as much at a loss where to take the next step, as how to extricate themselves from the last. Sometimes they had to scramble out of the deep mire upon the trunk of a fallen tree, from which they could not descend without again sinking on the other side, Sometimes we were so completely entangled in the vines, that we were compelled to dismount to cut our way out of the vegetable meshes in which we seemed to be entrapped. These swamps are ten times more formidable than even the flooded creeks, over two of which, in less than three miles, we had this day to have our horses swum by Indians, whose agility in the water is beautiful. The traveller himself is either conveyed over in a boat, or, if the creek is very narrow, crosses it on a large tree, which has been so dexterously felled as to fall across and form a tolerable bridge. We slept that night at a poor cabin just erected, and setting off early on the 30th, and passing by Pine Barren Spring, and two very bad

swamps, stopped to breakfast at a solitary house, where our host's talkative daughter made breakfast for us. She could not refrain the expression of her surprise at the sight of a white servant, having never seen one before; and was much more astonished when I told her, that the white and black servants in my country eat at the same table. Although of the poorest class of American emigrants, in a log-house, pervious to the weather in all directions, she said she had rather "fight a funeral than eat with a "black."

Before breakfast, we had ridden a few miles with a Mississippi Planter, of a plain, respectable cast. He had removed from South Carolina to the State of Mississippi, 15 months since; was returning home from an equestrian journey of nearly 3000 miles, commenced on the 1st January, and proposed taking East Florida in his way, in order to see if any of the rich lands there, afforded an inducement to move again, as he said he could sell his Mississippi purchase at a profit, which would amply compensate him. His estate is 70 miles from New Orleans, and he wished to be nearer his market.

We arrived in the evening at a few palings, which have dignified the place with the appellation of Fort Dale, where travellers are accom-

modated tolerably, on a flourishing plantation. Our landlord was an intelligent man; and among his books I saw the Bible, the Koran, a hymn book, Nicholson's Encyclopedia, Sterne, Burns, Cowper, Cœlebs, Camilla, and the Acts of the Alabama Legislature, of which he was a member. The next morning, we breakfasted at a retired house, 20 miles distant, kept by one of three families who came out of Georgia two years since to settle and to protect each other. The husband of one of the party had since been shot by the Indians in the woods. He died in three hours after he was found weltering in his blood, and was attended by the woman who gave me the account. The wife of another of the party was murdered by the Indians a few days afterwards, when on a visit to some friends 15 miles distant, where 5 women and four children were butchered and scalped; and the house of the narrator was soon afterwards burnt to the ground by the same enemy; provoked probably by some injury or insult offered by travellers through their nation, which they would retaliate on the Whites whenever they had an opportunity. We passed in the afternoon by Indian Path; and about twilight arrived at Murder Creek, a deep glen, where we took up our abode for the night. The name

sounded rather terrific, after the dismal stories we had heard during the day; but as the man and his wife, my servant, two travellers in a bed, and three in their blankets on the floor, all slept in the same room as myself, a single glance in any direction was sufficient, with the aid of the glimmering of our wood fire, to dispel any fearful visions of the night. This little creek and valley derive their name from the murder of 18 or 20 Whites by the Indians, 15 years since. They were camping out when the Indians fell upon them; and the scene of the massacre is marked out by a black stump in the garden.

We left Murder Creek by moon-light, at four o'clock on the 1st inst.; and passing by Burnt Corn, where we quitted the usual road to Mobile, we took the nearer but more solitary route to Blakeley. We breakfasted with a very pleasing family in the middle of the forest. They were the first whom I heard regret that they had quitted Georgia; they said, that although they could do better here than in Georgia, the manners of their neighbours were rough and ill suited to their taste. They stated, however, that things were improving; that the laws respecting the observance of the Sabbath were enforced; and that they hoped much from

the liberal provision made by Government, in the sale of the public lands, for an extensive school in the centre of every township of six miles square. Their children were attending *gratis* (as is customary) the school in their township, which is already established, although the population is as yet very scanty. The master who teaches Latin, and, I believe, French, has a salary of 700 dollars per annum, and the neighbours are providing him with assistant tutors. This liberal provision for schools in all the newly settled countries, does great credit to the American Government; and it is impossible to estimate too highly its probable ultimate effects*. Our host and his family gave us a

* "All the public lands are surveyed according to the laws and directions of Congress. They are uniformly divided into townships of six miles square, by lines running with the cardinal points, and consequently crossing each other at right angles. Every township is divided into 36 sections, each a mile square, and containing 640 acres. One section in each township is reserved, and given in perpetuity for the benefit of common schools. In addition to this, the States of Tenessee and Ohio have received grants for the support of colleges and academies. The appropriations generally in the new States for seminaries of the higher order, amount to one-fifth of those for common schools."—*North American Review*, *Oct.* 1821.

"It appears from Seybert's Statistical Annals, that the land in the States and Territories on the east side of the Mississippi,

little provision for the night; as they told us that we must not expect to get "a bite" for ourselves or our horses in less than 50 miles; and we had already travelled 13. Our road again lay through a most solitary pine barren, on a high ridge. The only thing which attracted my attention during the morning, was a finger-post of wood fastened to a tree and pointing down a grass path, and on which was written "To Pensacola." I felt more lonely and more distant from home at that moment, than at any time since I lost sight of my native shores. In the afternoon, we were surprised by one of the most sublimely dreadful spectacles I ever beheld. Thousands of large pine trees lay torn and shattered on each other, only one in four or five having been left standing, by a dreadful hurricane which occurred a fortnight before, and the ravages of which extended nearly twelve miles. Some had been thrown down with such prodigious violence, that their thick trunks were

in which appropriations have been made, amounts to 237,300,000 acres. And, according to the ratio above-mentioned, the aggregate on the east side of the Mississippi is 7,900,000. The same system of appropriation applied to the West, will make for schools and colleges 6,600,000; and the total appropriations for literary purposes in the new States and Territories 14,500,000 acres, which, at two dollars per acre, would be 29,000,000 dollars."—*Ibid.*

broken into two or three pieces by the fall; others were splintered from the top nearly to the bottom; while others were lying on each other four or five thick, with their branches intertwined as if they had been torn up by the roots in a body. But it is in vain to attempt to describe the spectacle. I will only say, that the most dreadful tossing of the ocean never impressed me so strongly with the idea of uncontrollable power, as this magnificent scene of devastation. Our road was so completely buried, that we had to hunt our track at some distance in the woods. My servant observed, "what a "many hundred miles people in England would "go to see such a sight?" It is such hurricanes as these that Volney describes, as twisting off and laying level the largest trees within the limit of their range; and he very aptly compares their course through the forest, to that of a reaper through a field of wheat.

We had intended to stop at sun-set, as in these latitudes there is little or no twilight; but, as usual, we could not persuade ourselves that the night would close upon us immediately, and the ground was so wet on the table-land of the ridge, that we proceeded in order to discover a better place to rest for the night, till we found ourselves benighted among the swamps, our

horses sinking and stumbling, and frequently passing through water two or three feet deep, out of which we could scarcely see our way. The damps of the night, in this watery region, prevented our alighting to try to make a fire, till the moon should enable us to proceed; and, indeed, we did not think it prudent to dismount on account of the alligators which abound here; we had about sun-set passed very near one. Our ears were stunned with the frog concerts which now and then arose and depressed our spirits, by intimating that we were approaching another swamp, although it was too dark to see it. What different emotions the frog concerts excited in Mungo Park, who hailed them as symptoms of his approach to the water, for which he was panting. This was the first time I had felt in a really awkward situation, and my servant's spirits began to fail him. He told me afterwards, that for two hours the perspiration was dropping from his face, and his knees were shaking as if he was in an ague; the more so as he was afraid that our pound of bacon, which was in his saddle-bags would allure the alligators to him. We were suddenly surprised by a number of moving lights, which led us to suppose that some persons were scouring the forest; but we heard no noise: even when

many of them appeared to be moving round us within a few yards distance, all was silent when we stopped our horses. At last, it flashed across my mind that these moving lights must proceed from the beautiful fire-flies we had often heard of, but which it had not occurred to me that we were likely to see in this country. Even at such a moment, I was delighted with their beauty, evanescent as it was; for they soon disappeared. Occasionally, we were again deluded by a solitary fire-fly at a distance, which twinkled like a light from a cottage-window, and to which we several times bent our steps, our spirits depressed by every successive disappointment.

At last, just as the moon rose, we reached an elevated spot, where we lighted our fire, toasted our bacon, and after securing our horses by a little fence of saplings, lay down on our blankets under the trees with no common satisfaction.

We started before four o'clock the next morning, and breakfasted at a house about ten miles distant. The settlement was established about 15 years since—the Indians, contrary to their usual custom, having permitted it; but although the owner had more than 2000 head of cattle grazing in the woods, he had neither milk nor butter to give us to our coffee. This

is an extreme case; but it is not uncommon, in this part of the country, to be unable to procure either milk or butter where 18 or 20 cows are kept, solid animal food being much preferred. Humboldt, you will recollect, in the account of his journey from the mountains of Parapara to the banks of the Apure, mentions arriving at a farm where he was told of herds of several thousand cows grazing in the plains; and yet he asked in vain for a bowl of milk. At the house where we breakfasted, we saw the skin of a bear drying in the sun: seven miles farther we passed a large *panther*,* as it is called, which had been lately killed and stuffed. At the next house was the skin of a rattle-snake, which the the woman who lived there had killed a few nights before. At this retired house we were detained two or three hours by a violent thunder storm with extremely heavy rain. As soon as the rain abated we set off again in the midst of vivid lightning, which, in the darkness of the night, alone, enabled us to keep our path to Blakeley, which we were anxious to reach, as it was Saturday night. Indeed, for the last three days, we had travelled 45 miles each day, in order to arrive before Sunday; but to our disappointment, we found there was no church or

* See Note, page 123.

meeting-house there of any description; and we accordingly crossed the bay in the morning to go to church at this place (Mobile,) where we were equally disappointed; for, to the disgrace of Protestant America, no place of worship is established here except a Catholic church, built by the French or Spanish.

Letter IX.

Natchez, on the Mississippi, 24th April, 1820.

My thoughts, however, are much and very agreeably engrossed by the objects of interest which press upon me on every side; and I sometimes forget that I am so far from home. My solitary ride through the woods I enjoyed exceedingly; and except for my anxiety to be proceeding in the immediate objects of my journey, I should not have been tired if it had been twice as long. From Augusta and to Mobile, the way we came, was 460 miles nearly, which we accomplished in about 15 days, during two of which we rested. I left my horses at Mobile, in the care of a friend, to sell.

I mentioned, in my last letter, that after crossing the bay, on Sunday morning, to go to church, I was disappointed to find no Protestant place of worship at Blakeley. I understood, however, that a Protestant clergyman from the Eastern States had, for some Sundays preceding, been officiating alternately at Mobile and Blakeley. These towns are situated on opposite sides of the bay, and are contending vehemently for the privilege

of becoming that great emporium which must shortly spring up in the vicinity of this outlet for the produce of the young fertile State of Alabama. The surface drained by the rivers Tombigbee, Black Warrior, Alabama, Coosa, Tallapoosa, and Cahawba, all of which fall into Mobile Bay, exceeds 26 millions of acres, possessing a very great diversity of soil and climate, and enjoying commercial and agricultural advantages, which are attracting towards them, with unprecedented rapidity, the wealth and enterprise of the older States.

Blakeley is a real American town of yesterday, with a fine range of warehouses; the stumps of the trees which have been felled to make room for this young city still standing in the streets. Mobile is an old Spanish town, with mingled traces of the manners and language of the French and Spaniards, and with an old fort, called Fort Condé, which is to be superseded by fortifications in a more formidable position.

The change from the quiet homely cabins in which we were entertained in the woods, to the noisy, dirty tavern of Mobile, was by no means an agreeable one. I sat down with about thirty or forty persons to every meal; but I saw much more of *men* than of *manners;* and was convinced that there was some truth in what I had been

told, that in travelling westward in this country, you may take your longitude by observing the decrements of the time occupied at meals. At Mobile 5 or 6 minutes might possibly be the average, and yet we accuse the Americans of being indolent and prodigal of time! Generally speaking, the company at the taverns consists of agents and clerks, and the mass of the population is of a most miscellaneous kind. The aspect of society, as it presents itself to the superficial eye of a stranger, is such as might be expected where public worship is totally disregarded. Profaneness, licentiousness, and ferocity, seemed to be characteristic of the place; and the latter, as manifested in barbarity to the Negro servants, was beyond even what I had anticipated. You continually hear the lash upon their backs, with language which would shock you, even if applied to brutes; and the easy and intelligent expression which I had observed in the countenances of many of the slaves in Carolina and Georgia, had here given place to the appearance of abject timidity or idiotic vacancy. I have seen men, after receiving a severe flogging, and uttering the most piercing cries, the moment their tyrant's back was turned, burst into a loud laugh, dancing about the room, and snapping

their fingers, like a school-boy who wishes to appear as if he "did not care."

The ravages of the fever here last year were, perhaps, proportionably more severe than at any other place. In July, the population was 1300: soon after the appearance of the fever in September, it was reduced by migrations to about 500, of which number 274 died. I never left a place with more satisfaction. We embarked on board a small schooner, on the evening of the 4th, and remained on deck till it was dark. The islands in the middle of the bay, covered with reeds four or five feet high, and their shores loaded with raft-wood, which was then floating down the bay in immense quantities, had a most desolate appearance. In the morning, we found ourselves in the Gulf of Mexico, but within sight of land, and with a number of pelicans flying around us. As the wind was fair, we stood out longer than usual on the outside of a chain of low flat islands, which forms with the main land a channel, through which vessels drawing not more than six feet water may reach New Orleans by Lake Borgne and Lake Portchartrain, without entering the Mississippi. On the 5th, we saw the sun rise and set with cloudless splendour in

the Gulf of Mexico; and I could not help reflecting, how ill the moral darkness of this abandoned region accorded with the clear sky which was spread over us, and the glassy surface of the vast expanse in which we were encircled.

On the 6th, we sailed between the islands I have alluded to and the main shore, which was a dead flat, of little interest, except towards the beautiful bay of St. Louis, to which the most opulent inhabitants of Louisiana retire during the sickly season; the ravages of which are dreadful, and make the most distressing blanks in the society of the Louisianians. The shores are, for the most part, covered with fine forests, which stretch to the water's edge. Indeed, it is observed by Darby, that considerably more than one-half of all that part of the United States, which lies south of latitude 35 deg., east of the Mississippi river, and which is bounded on the south by the Gulf of Mexico and Florida, is covered with pines. It is a common opinion in many parts of America, that these pine lands are incapable of cultivation, and are destined to continue for ever in their native condition. The fallacy of this opinion has been demonstrated by successful experiments in the northern States, where verdure and fertility now cover large tracts which had been thus hastily condemned to

perpetual sterility. We had beautiful weather, and after coasting along what is now the State of Mississippi, but was formerly part of West Florida, and passing the mouths of Pascagoula and Pearl rivers, we reached New Orleans early on the 7th. There was nothing interesting in our passengers. One of them was from Bermuda. His ship and cargo were seized at Mobile, because he had brought a black servant, without a certificate of his parents' freedom. As the boy was originally from New Orleans, his master was obliged to go thither to obtain the certificate before he could release the vessel. I mention this merely as an instance of the vigilance with which the smuggling of slaves is watched; and I am happy to say, from all I can learn from the inhabitants of Florida, on St. Mary's river, and from the commanders of vessels on that coast and in the Gulf of Mexico, that I believe slave-smuggling in this quarter is at present extremely limited. The piratical establishment at Galveston, which was one of the principal channels for the introduction of slaves, has solicited and obtained permission to sail out of the Gulf.

My impressions of New Orleans were of the most unpleasing kind; but they were a little relieved by the beautiful orange-groves in the

suburbs, and far more by the extensive meadows of deep rich wild clover through which we approached the town from the Bayou St. John, after sailing through Lake Borgne and Lake Portchartrain. These meadows, with the numerous herds of cattle which were grazing in them, had a more English appearance than any views we have yet seen; the absence of a rich green surface, clear of wood, being to us one of the most constant peculiarities of the American scenery through which we have yet passed. The prairies were the nearest approach to our home views. It was not until I had crossed the city, that I first caught a glimpse of the noble Mississippi. It was in flood, rising and flowing rapidly, but majestically, to the ocean. I cannot describe my sensations when I found myself actually on the banks of a river which had so long and so powerfully impressed my imagination. At dinner, we had the water of the river in the decanters; and, muddy as it was till it had deposited its copious sediment, I looked at it with no common interest, and was elated with the idea that I was drinking water from a stream which, rising in the northern regions in the same table-lands from which more wintry currents flow to Hudson's Bay and Niagara, and actually freezing near its source

on the bottom of the canoes in the middle of summer, traverses this western continent for nearly 3000 miles, and after watering the orange groves and sugar plantations of Louisiana, and spreading itself far and wide over an immense delta of alluvion, falls into the Gulf of Mexico under nearly the same latitude as the waters of the Nile.

After perambulating the city, my former unpleasant impressions returned in their full force, and were confirmed by every day's residence. The first thing which struck me was the French names of most of the streets, an old French theatre, and an old French or Spanish fort. The advertisements, on a large proportion of the shops, were in French; many of the shopkeepers spoke French only; and the dress of the ladies was French altogether. The population is of every complexion from the most beautiful white and red, through all the various shades of brown and yellow to jet black. Indeed, perhaps no city in the world exhibits a more miscellaneous collection of inhabitants;—Americans from every State from Maine to Georgia; English, French, Spanish, Creole, Indian and African;—and it is not always, as you will readily believe, the best of their respective nations who have chosen to place themselves

on the forlorn hope in this pestilential region. My stay was too short to authorise me to pretend to describe fully the state of society. At present, therefore, I will only say, that the impressions which I carried with me from England and the northern States, were by no means effaced by the opportunity of actual observation.

I took up my abode at Madame ——'s, where there were several gentlemen whom I knew; Judge ——, General ——, and a Captain of the American Navy, whose liberal sentiments, general information, and gentlemanly manners, would have done no discredit to the captain of a British frigate. My quarters, therefore, might have been very agreeable, if my landlady, who keeps by far the best boarding house in New Orleans, had been of a different character. Unfortunately, my room adjoined her's; and I have heard her at four or five o'clock in the morning calling for her cow-skin to square the preceding day's account with her Negroes. Had I had reason to believe that I should avoid such disgusting occurrences by removing, I would have left the house immediately; but such exhibitions were too general to be escaped.

I have no doubt, however, that the moral aspect of the town is improving, although the

gamboling houses are sanctioned by Government, who farm out a general licence to an individual, to be subdivided at pleasure—with more consistency certainly with the manners and institutions of the community, than can can be pleaded by the patronizers of *our* public lotteries. The rapid prosperity of this rising city, is now attracting a class of settlers far more respectable than those whom bankrupt fortunes or battered characters formerly drove hither. There are now two Protestant congregations; and I have no doubt the whole structure of society will undergo a rapid change; but until lately public worship was generally neglected, and licentiousness, profaneness, and disregard to the Sabbath, were characteristic of the place. Let those who feel any doubts of the efficacy of the public ordinances of religion, or of the necessity of missionary efforts, once see to what depths of depravity human nature will slide even in civilized society, where there is no regular annunciation of Christian truths, and then declare, if they are of opinion, that they can reconcile their indifference to the diffusion of religious instruction with an enlightened interest in the improvement of the human race.

My letters to New Orleans, (excepting commercial ones) were addressed to Judge ——, Mr. ——, and Mr. ——. The first gentleman ranks high as a judge, and was very attentive, calling several times, and walking about with me, &c. It was he who fined General Jackson for his proceedings, when he put the city under martial law, to save it from the attack of the British. The General, I was told, acknowledged the propriety of the fine, and the citizens subscribed and paid it. At dinner, at Judge ——'s, and Mr. —'s, I met some of the best male society in New Orleans—judges, lawyers, and merchants; but it was inferior to what I have met in other towns. Mr. ——— is, I think, the Attorney-General of the State, and is rather likely to be the next Governor. Of the female society, I saw nothing, excepting two Creole ladies, to whom I was introduced, in a morning call.—All are denominated Creoles, who are born in Louisiana, even of American parents; but this extension of the term will probably be exploded.

I left New Orleans on the 19th, in a steam boat, and arrived here early on the 23d, after a most interesting sail for 320 miles, through the very singular country through which the Mississippi flows. For many miles above New Orleans, the banks of the river are enlivened with

cotton and sugar plantations, and ornamented with the beautiful gardens and orange-groves which surround the neat white frame-houses of the planters. The plantations stretch from half a mile to a mile into the forests by which they are hemmed in; and they are formed on the rich borders of alluvial soil, which have been formed by copious depositions of the river, while within the reach of its inundations. They are now protected from the annual flood by a large artificial embankment, thirty or forty yards from the natural bank of the river, four to six feet high, and six to nine feet broad at the base. This bank extends about 130 miles on the eastern, and 170 on the western side of the river; and its preservation is secured by the obligation which the law imposes on every individual to maintain in good repair that part which is before his own land—an obligation which is enforced by commissioners, who are appointed to inspect and direct repairs. A breach in the levée, or a *crevasse*, as it is called, diffuses general alarm. Mr. Brackenbury thus describes it: "The "waters rush from the river with indescribable "impetuosity, with a noise like the roaring of "a cataract, boiling and foaming, and bearing "every thing before them. Like the breaking "out of a fire in a town, it excites universal

" consternation. Every employment is aban-
" doned for miles above and below, and every
" exertion is made night and day to stop the
" breach, which is sometimes successful, but
" more frequently the hostile element is suffered
" to take its course." In this case, " it sweeps
" with wide inundation over the most valuable
" tracts of cultivated ground, on which houses
" and buildings of every description are erected,
" and destroys in one moment the improvements
" of years." Large tracts of waste country are annually flooded. It is estimated that below the thirty-third degree of north latitude, to the mouth of the Mississippi, a distance of about 600 miles, the country liable to be overflowed, is nearly 12,000, and the country actually submerged annually 5000 square miles.

One great peculiarity of the river is its numerous outlets. The first of these, which we observed, was La Fourche, about 80 miles above New Orleans. About 30 or 40 miles higher is the Plaquemine, seventy yards wide. But the main outlet is the Atchafalaya, which leaves the Mississippi about 240 miles above New Orleans. It is said to be more than 100 yards wide where it diverges from the parent stream, and 180 miles in length; and the tides, which are never more than two and a half or three feet

in the Gulf flow up the Atchafalaya 150 miles. At a very short distance above this outlet, (I think both were in sight at once,) the Red River, after a course of 1500 miles, pours its broad stream into the Mississippi. The confluence of these two rivers is beautiful. There is little doubt that the Atchafalaya once formed the channel of the Red River, which then preserved its identity till it reached the ocean. Indeed, one very peculiar feature of the country bordering on this part of the Mississippi, is the number of old channels which the river has left as memorials of its former course. It winds extremely; one bend of 50 miles bringing us within four miles, and another of 35 miles within one mile, of our former course. It thus forms numerous peninsulæ, till the neck of land becomes so narrow that the river forces its way through, leaving its former circuitous channel either to be choked up with raft-wood, or to become a *lagune* of stagnant water, with which it perhaps again communicates during the floods. Where it has changed its course less suddenly, and new land has been gradually added to the side from which it has receded, it is curious to observe the comparative height of the new trees, rising in regular gradation from two or three, to sixty or seventy feet high.

Hemmed in by the dark forests which overshadow the river on both sides when we had passed the limits of cultivation, we were not sorry to have the deep solemnity of the scene relieved occasionally by a younger growth. At night, especially, sitting alone on deck, as I often did till morning, the solemnity would have been overpowering without the variety afforded by those natural plantations, and the wooded islands which stud the lakes formed by the expanding current and sinuosities of this majestic stream. We had an unclouded moon while we ascended the Mississippi; but her beams scarcely penetrated the forest, the dark recesses of which were often illuminated by beautiful fire-flies, sailing silently on the "liquid "air," like the planetary orbs which we saw reflected from the bosom of the river.

During the day, many of the party amused themselves by shooting at the alligators, which abounded, and which we continually passed, as they were either swimming slowly on the surface, or lying half out of the water on logs of wood, which they much resemble. The first alligator I saw was pointed out to me by Gen. P—, as we passed the Wandau River, in South Carolina. He told me that they were much less dangerous on land than in water, as a man

can outrun them. A gentleman, from Florida, who lives on the River St. John, told me, that they often carried away negroes while bathing, and that a female slave, either of his or of a neighbour's, I forget which, had been recently carried off, when drawing water from the river.

Bartram, in his Travels through Florida, gives the following amusing account, which, although it partakes a little of the mock-heroic, I cannot forbear copying: "The alligators or crocodiles," as he indiscriminately calls them, "began to "war, and appear in uncommon numbers along "the shores, and in the river. I furnished "myself with a club for my defence, went on "board, and passing the first line of those which "surrounded my harbour, they gave way; but "being pursued by several very large ones, I "kept strictly on the watch, and paddled with "all my might towards the entrance of the "Lagune, hoping to be sheltered there from "the multitude of my assailants; but ere I had "half way reached the place I was attacked on "all sides, several endeavouring to overset the "canoe. My situation now became precarious "to the last degree; two very large ones "attacked me closely at the same instant, rush-"ing up with their heads and part of their "bodies above the water, roaring terribly, and

" belching floods of water over me. They " struck their jaws together so close to my ears, " as almost to stun me, and as I expected every " moment to be dragged out of the boats and " instantly devoured, I made for the shore, as " the only means left me for my preservation."* We employed ourselves also in looking out for what the navigators call *planters* and *sawyers*. The former are trees which, floating down the river, have fixed themselves at the bottom, with their tops pointing up the stream, and often concealed under water. The sawyers are trees, which have carried with them a large mass of earth, when detached from the bank, by the weight of which the roots are kept at the bottom of the river, while the top, pointing down the stream, preserves a vibrating motion, as the pressure of the current, and the reaction of the weight at the roots, alternately elevate and depress it. Bradbury observes, " that the period " of its oscillatory motion is sometimes of several " minutes duration. The steersman this instant " sees all the surface of the river smooth and " tranquil, and the next he is struck with horror

* This account appears to partake a little of the marvellous, as the alligator has in no country been known so fierce. According to the accounts of the travellers most deserving of credit, they will seize by surprise, but not attack openly.

" on seeing the sawyer before him raising his
" terrific arms, and so near that neither strength
" nor skill can save his vessel from destruction."

On my arrival at Natchez, I took up my abode at a comfortable boarding-house in the upper town; the lower town being a perfect Wapping, crowded with Kentucky boats, and an odd miscellaneous population of back-woodsmen and others from the western country.

Letter X.

Natchez, 6th May, 1820.

At the boarding-house, I found the Governor of the State, a worthy old gentleman, of handsome property, and of a highly respectable family in Virginia. He took his meals at the common table, where there was a promiscuous assemblage of merchants, agents, and clerks; and I kept my letter of introduction to him in my pocket two days, little aware that I was in his company. I mention this circumstance, as a trait of the manners of this part of the country, which surprised me a little, as I had met at Washington Governors of other States, with far less solid titles to personal and hereditary respectability, aristocratical enough in their behaviour. When I had delivered my letters to him, he insisted on sending his servant and horses with me in my calls on some of the principal planters in the neighbourhood; for the roads through the forests are intricate, and we seldom meet any one to set us right, if we take a wrong direction. The black servant began to talk to me on the road about England,

an English hunter which he had once seen having impressed his imagination strongly. He spoke of my country for a long time, as if he was very familiar with it. On finding, however, that we did not grow Indian corn, he thought it must be a strange place; and asked with surprise, if England was not at Philadelphia; and when I assured him it was 3000 miles across the sea, he exclaimed, "Possible! well, I "always thought England was at Philadelphia."

Our boarding-house is near the Mississippi, which is now falling a foot every day; the spring flood having reached its height while I was at New Orleans; but the flood from the Missouri has not yet arrived. Nearly opposite the windows of the room in which I am writing, the river takes one of its noblest sweeps, under what are called the Bluffs, from which you look down over it upon a dense forest, which stretches to the horizon, and in which the sun seems to extinguish his latest rays. On these Bluffs I generally take my evening walk, and please myself with the idea that a few hours previously you may have been watching the setting of this glorious luminary behind our favourite hills; for in

"These lands, beneath Hesperian skies,
"Our daylight sojourns till your morrow rise."

Indeed, there is something in the vicinity of Natchez which perpetually reminds me of home. The thick clover, the scattered knolls, with their wood-crowned summits, differing only from those most familiar to me in the magnificence of the foliage with which they are shaded, and the neat husbandry of the intervening plantations, give the whole country the appearance of an English park. An Irishman, with whom I was riding last night, remarked, that the roads strongly resemble those through the large domains in Ireland. I leave you to make due allowance for our anxiety to trace every little resemblance to our native land. At this distance from home, we are not solicitous, by too accurate a discrimination, to dispel an illusion, if it be one, which affords us so much pleasure. You remember Humboldt's beautiful observation: "If amid this exotic nature, the "lowing of a cow, or the roaring of a bull, were "heard from the depth of a valley, the remem- "brance of our country was awakened suddenly "at the sound. They were like distant voices "resounding from beyond the ocean, and with "magical force transporting us from one hemis- "phere to the other." But the gigantic Plane and Maple trees, a large proportion of the seventy or eighty different species of the American Oak,

the Sassafras, the Hiccory, the Pride of India, the Catalpa, the Liquid-Amber Styraciflua, the Liriodendron Tulipifera, above all, the Magnolia Grandiflora, 100 feet high, with its deep green leaves and broad white flowers, expanded like a full-blown rose, remind us that we are far from home, while at night the brilliancy of the stars, the delicious fragrance of the surrounding woods, and especially the fire-flies, which sparkle on every side, seem almost to transport us into the regions of eastern romance. We are also often gratified with the sight of many beautiful birds which are strangers to us, and sometimes catch a glimpse of the wild deer. A day or two since, I rode close past a rattlesnake in the woods, which we killed, and cut off its rattle, which I have reserved for ———, if it will carry safely. It was four and a half feet long.

I have been the more particular in alluding to the natural scenery near Natchez, because you requested me to give you a general idea of the scenery of this country; and my route, hitherto principally through the pine woods, has afforded little variety for 300 to 400 miles together. Indeed, I believe in all new countries, and it is natural it should be so, the roads, connecting *distant* settlements, are generally carried

over the stony ridges, or the poorest land.—With regard to the general aspect of America, the most correct idea you can form of it, at least as far as my observation has extended, is that of one immense forest, interspersed occasionally with patches, cleared for towns, or cities, or plantations, and sometimes with natural meadows or prairies. I had no expectation of finding this so literally the case. The streets of many considerable towns actually terminate in the woods, and can be lengthened only by cutting down fresh timber. Even the mountains, (at least the Catocton and the Blue Ridge, the only ones I have seen, and I am told the same is the case with the Alleghany,) are covered with woods to their very summit, which gives them a less magnificent and picturesque effect, than the blooming heather or grey rocks, with which my eye is much more familiar. So far, I have been struck also with the *scarcity* of mountains in a country, in every part of which we expect to find all the magnificent features of natural scenery. I should not have seen one since my arrival, if I had not, while at Washington, made an excursion to Harper's Ferry, 50 miles distant. This is the celebrated spot where the Potowmac and Shenandoah unite their waters, to force a passage through the Blue Mountains

of Virginia. It has been eloquently described by Mr Jefferson, who thinks it worth crossing the Atlantic to see. I do not agree with him; but I do think it is worth the three days I devoted to it, although I had to set out from Frederickstown for a ride of 40 miles in a sleigh, over a deep snow on a January morning, at four o'clock, with the thermometer below zero. But as I have Mr. Jefferson's description before me, I will copy it for you.

"You stand on a high point of land. On "your right comes the Shenandoah, having "ranged along the foot of the mountain 100 "miles to seek a vent: on your left approaches "the Potowmac, in quest of a passage also. In "the moment of their junction, they rush toge- "ther against the mountain, rend it asunder, "and pass off to the sea. The first glance of "this scene hurries our senses into the opinion, "that the earth has been created in time; that "the mountains were formed first; that the "rivers begun to flow afterwards;—that in this "place particularly, they have been dammed up "by the Blue ridge of mountains, and have "formed an ocean, which filled the whole "valley; that continuing to rise, they have at "length broken over at this spot, and have torn "the mountain down from its summit to its

" base.—This scene is worth a voyage across the " Atlantic; yet here, as in the neighbourhood " of the Natural Bridge, are people, who have " passed their lives within half a dozen miles, " and have never been to survey these move- " ments of a war between rivers and mountains, " which must have shaken the earth itself to its " centre."—While on the subject of scenery, I will also copy for you Darby's description of a most singular country, towards which my imagination often wanders, while walking on the Bluffs, or precipitous cliffs, near the river, and gazing on the prospect which fades in the distance across the Mississippi. I mean the country which goes under the name of the Attacapas and the Opelousas.

" Opelousas Prairie extends, from the Gulf " of Mexico, nearly north 80 miles, and is " bounded on the east and north by the Ver- " milion and Teche Rivers, and on the west " by the woods of Bayou Millet, Bayou Cane, " and by the Mermentau River. This sea of " grass is, on an average, 25 miles wide; and " extends over, including the sea marsh, upwards " of 1,200,000 acres. Some of the most flour- " ishing settlements of Opelousas and Attacapas " are on this prairie."

" Opelousas extends over 7600, and Attacapas " over 5100 square miles."

" A more rapid and astonishing transition is " not conceivable than between the deep, dark, " and silent gloom of the inundated lands of " Atchafalaya, and the open, light, and cheerful " expansion of the wide-spread prairies of Opel- " ousas and Attacapas. This pleasing and really " delightful change, is among the certain items " of reward that every individual will receive, " who passes at any season of the year from New " Orleans to either Opelousas or Attacapas. " After being many days confined in the rivers, " exposed to heat, musquitos, and many severe " privations, to pass in a few minutes from the " scene of silence and suffering, to an ocean of " light, to the view of expanses, where the eye " finds no limit but the distant horizon, is a " delight of which no anticipation can give an " adequate idea."

" A journey from New Orleans to the mouth " of the Sabine (the western boundary of the " Opelousas) exhibits man in every stage of his " progress, from the palace to the hut, and " inversely."

" In the city of New Orleans, four or five " of the most elegant of the living languages

" of the earth are now spoken in all their purity ;
" and there is now enjoyed, all that luxury and
" learning can bestow. Upon the banks of the
" Mississippi many of the sugar and cotton plan-
" ters live in edifices, where (within and without,)
" are exhibited all that art, aided by wealth, can
" produce. In Attacapas and Opelousas, the glare
" of expensive luxury vanishes, and is followed
" by substantial independence. Often the bed
" occupies one part of the common sitting-room
" or parlour of families that are really wealthy.
" The farm-houses are generally rough, but solid
" buildings, in which the inhabitants enjoy
" good, wholesome, and abundant food, and
" excellent beds."

" In the western parts of Opelousas are found
" these pastoral hunters, who recall to our ima-
" gination the primitive times of history."

" It is but justice to those men to say, that
" as far as the experience of the Writer can
" enable him to judge of their character, they
" do ample justice to the long received opinion
" of the natural hospitality of man. He never
" once, in the course of many years, was turned
" away hungry from the door, or denied a
" nightly shelter under the roof of one of those
" apparently uncultivated sons of the forest.
" Oftentimes has he experienced from them,

"when weary and exhausted, a warm and
"generous reception, that many who repose on
"beds of down might blush to behold."

"It may be asserted, without fear of contra-
"diction, that the frontier men of the United
"States, the pastoral Creole of Louisiana, and
"the horseman of the Spanish internal provinces,
"are in a much greater degree superior to the
"Aborigines of America, in point of improve-
"ment, than they are inferior in mental
"endowments, to the most polished society in
"Philadelphia, New York, London, Paris,
"Rome, or Berlin."

"Besides the vegetable staple in Opelousas
"and Attacapas, those places have another
"source of revenue, in which, perhaps, they are
"unrivalled—the rearing of cattle. There are
"many parts upon the Mermentau, Calcasu,
"and Sabine, where this pastoral commerce will
"perhaps be perpetuated as long as the present
"order of things continues in the world. It
"would be difficult to conceive the possibility
"of any country being more completely adapted
"to the rearing of cattle than are the prairies
"along the waters of the Opelousas. So much
"are men prone to adopt what will best suit
"their peculiar situation, when left free to
"follow the bent of their own desires, that

" common custom in such cases is the best of " propriety."

" From the first establishment of the post, " the production of cattle became the chief pur- " suit of the people of Opelousas and Attacapas; " but as the settlements *progressed* *, and parti- " cularly since the establishment of the American " Government, wherever the soil was produc- " tive, agriculture has succeeded pastoral labour. " So much, however, of the lands to the westward " of the water courses communicating with the " Teche, are naturally sterile, flat, and incapable " alike of present culture or future improve- " ments, that the regions seemed pointed out by " nature as the meadow lands to supply with " beef, butter, and cheese, the inhabitants of the " productive banks of the Mississippi, and its " intermediate streams.

" The city of New Orleans and its vicinity, " are supplied with beef, tallow, and butter, " from these Savannahs. Many of the richer " planters on the Teche, Vermilion, and other " agricultural districts, have stock farms, or, as " they are termed in the country, ' vacheries,' " established upon the Mermentau and Calcasu. " The cattle are guarded by men employed for

* This, though reckoned an Americanism, is good old English.

"that purpose, who have in most cases, as their "reward, a stipulated share of the increase. "These stock-herds have also the use of all the "milk and butter they choose to make for their "own use. To families who remove into the "country, and whose finances are not very "ample, no situation could be more eligible "than having the use of one of these vacheries. "It is, however, a life of severe activity. The "lives of the men who guard the flocks of this "country, may be said to be spent on horse-"back. It is also a pursuit demanding consi-"derable skill in the peculiar management of "its details. There is no application of the "hands of mere common working men, where "so much profit is drawn from the same labour. "Three or four active men, with about double "as many tolerably good horses, will manage a "a stock, producing annually from three to five "hundred calves. The 5th is the common "reward of the keepers. This would yield from "25 to 30 calves to a single hand."

"Most of those, however, who are employed "on these pastoral farms, are either slaves, or if "free men, particularly known to the owners of "the cattle. They are generally a hardy, active "class of men; and certainly are amongst the "best horsemen in the world. The rapidity

" and skill of their movements, are justly sub-
" jects of admiration, which is often heightened
" by the docility and sagacity of their horses."

" The cattle, horse, and mode of managing
" both, came into Louisiana from the Spanish
" provinces of North America. The race of
" the domestic cow, so greatly multiplied in
" Opelousas and Attacapas, is high, clean limbed,
" and elegant in its appearance.* The horses
" are from the Andalusian, or Numedian breed;
" they are, like their ancestors, small, compactly
" built, and inconceivably durable. Many of
" them are active in a high degree; and though
" inferior in size, strength, fleetness, or beauty
" to the English breed of horses, now general in
" the United States, they are, nevertheless,
" greatly superior in every essential quality
" necessary for the severe service they are made
" to perform."†

I have also copied for you, from Darby, the following particulars:—

The following is a list of the most common Timber trees found in the basin of the Mobile, and indeed on all the waters from the Atlantic

* The worst form in the eye of the Grazier or Butcher.

† The present breed of horses in Andalusia, though active and spirited, are not durable in comparison with the English horse.

Ocean to the Mississippi, in the same parallel of latitude.

Pinus rigida	Pitch Pine
Pinus tæda	Loblolly or Water Pine
Quercus tinctoria	Black Oak
Quercus rubra	Red Oak
Quercus virens	Live Oak, only near the sea
Quercus ferruginea	Black Jack
Quercus alba	White Oak
Juglans squamosa	Shell-bark Hickory
Juglans laciniosa	Black Hickory
Juglans nigra	Black Walnut, scarce
Acer rubrum	Red Maple
Acer nigrum	Black Sugar Maple, rare
Acer negundo	Box Elder, on the streams
Cupressus disticha	Cypress
Carpinus Ostrya	Iron Wood
Carpinus Americana	Hornbeam
Castanea pumila	Chincapin
Cerasus virginiana	Wild Cherry
Cornus florida	Dog Wood, extremely abundant
Fagus sylvestris	Beech
Fraxinus tomentosa	Common Ash
Gleditsia triacanthes	Honey Locust, rare
Juniperus virginiana	Red Cedar
Laurus sassafras	Sassafras
Liquid-amber styraciflua	Sweet Gum
Liriodendron tulipifera	Poplar or Tulip tree
Magnolia grandiflora	Large Laurel
Nyssa sylvatica	Black Gum
Nyssa aquatica	Tupelo
Platanus Occidentalis	Sycamore

Tilia Pubescens	Linden or Lime tree
Ulmus rubra	Red Elm
Ulmus Americana	Mucilaginous Elm
Ulmus aquatica	Water Elm
Diospiros virginia	Persimon

Principal Streams that contribute to form the Mississippi River.	Distance of their mouths from that of the Mississippi.	Distance of their sources from the mouth of the Mississippi.	Latitude of their sources.	Seasons when their inundations commence.
	Miles.	Miles.		
Red River	300	1750	37° N.	February.
Arkansaw	650	2300	41° N.	March.
White River	630	1300	36° N.	February.
Osage	1350	2100	36° N.	February.
Kansas	1550	3400	40° N.	March.
Platte	1800	2900	42° N.	April.
Missouri	1200	4000	45° N.	April.
Yellow Stone	3050	3900	43° N.	April.
Bighorn	3300	3800	42° N.	April.
Mississippi	1200	2300	48° N.	May.
Illinois	1215	1700	42° N.	April.
Wabash	1150,	1650	41° N.	May.
Tennessee	1050	1750	31° N.	February.
Ohio	1000	3200,	42° N.	March.
		36,050		

Letter XI.

Natchez, State of Mississippi, 8th May, 1820.

—— THERE is much in the plain friendly manners of many of the planters in this neighbourhood, with which I have been greatly pleased; and if slavery were banished from their domestic and agricultural economy, I should envy their retired, unostentatious, and independent mode of existence.

The men are generally hospitable and well informed, as respects the common concerns of life, and the women modest and obliging, although cold in their manners. Many persons, with incomes of £1000 to £2000 per annum, live somewhat in the style of our second and third-rate farmers; the white joiners and artificers, whom they may be employing, eating with them, and forming part of the family. If you take them by surprise, they make you welcome, but offer no apology for their common fare. They generally, however, offer you a bed; and if you remain till the next day, assiduously furnish a most plentiful table. I visited an old couple who had settled nine children

in their neighbourhood, (is a term which here often comprises a large district,) giving each of them about 1000 acres of land and a stock of Negroes, and retaining for themselves only just sufficient for their wants, and to supply a little occupation. In the higher ranks of the plain planters, you find a state of society which, I think, must strongly resemble that of our second-rate country gentlemen or yeomanry seventy or eighty years since; the females being brought up strictly, with little knowledge, and great attention to personal neatness and propriety, and the men filling alternately the situation of soldiers, justices, and planters. There are, however, some families in the neighbourhood of Natchez, who live much in the style of the higher classes in England, possessing polished manners, and respectable literary acquirements. Their houses are spacious and handsome, and their grounds are laid out like a forest park. In the society of some of these families I passed a few days very agreeably; and while listening to some of our own favourite melodies on the harp and piano-forte, I could have fancied myself on the banks of the Lune or the Mersey, rather than on those of the Mississippi.

The younger branches of many of these families have been educated, the young men at the

colleges in the northern and eastern States, and the young ladies at boarding-schools in Philadelphia; and some of them have formed matrimonial connections with northern families. The tastes and feelings, as well as the accomplishments and literature, of the north, are thus gradually introduced into these southern regions; and one happy consequence is a degree of repugnance to the slave-system on the part of some of the younger members of the community, and a growing desire to mitigate its severities on the part of others. Indeed, it is impossible that, assimilated as many of them must be in mental habits and moral feelings to the society in which they were educated, and in which slavery is an object of abhorrence, they should become reconciled at once to the violation of the natural rights of an unoffending class of their fellow-creatures, or capable of witnessing, without horror, the dreadful scenes occasionally exhibited here. The other day, I passed a plantation, whose owner a few months before had shot one of his slaves; and I conversed with a young planter, I think not 22 years old, whose general manners bespoke mildness, rather than the contrary, who had also shot a slave within a year. The offence, in both cases, was stated to be running away, and no notice whatever was taken of either of the murders. A friend of

mine, who has resided here some time, told me, that calling one morning on a most respectable planter, a man of eminently humane and amiable manners, he was surprised to see him sitting in his verandah, with his gun in his hand, earnestly watching a slave in the court, who was looking up at him with great emotion, as if meditating an escape. Bye and bye, the overlooker came and took the slave away. My friend turned to the planter, and asked him what was the matter. He replied, "While I was at breakfast, that "Negro came and delivered himself up, telling "me that he had run away from my plantation, "to avoid a threatened flogging; but that, as "as he had returned voluntarily, he hoped I "would intercede with the overseer, and get "him excused. I told him I seldom interfered "with the overseer, but would send and inquire "into the circumstances. I sent for him; but "the Negro, in the mean time, apprehending "the result, *looked* as if he would dart off into "the woods. I ordered my gun, and if he had "attempted to stir, I should have been obliged "to shoot him dead; for there is no other way "of enforcing obedience and subordination."

A very short time since, a wealthy planter tried to work his slaves half the night as well as the whole of the day. They remonstrated with

the overseer, and became refractory, on which the planter undertook to controul them. He took his seat on the trunk of a tree to inspect them, with his *gun* in his hand to shoot the first who should shrink. About twelve o'clock at night he fell asleep. The slaves seized his gun, shot him, and burnt him to ashes on the fires which he was compelling them to make at midnight, of the wood they were employed in clearing. The case was so glaring, and the planter's cruelty so notorious, that the matter was hushed up as well as it could be, and the slaves were not punished; though while at Charleston I saw an account of a young Negro woman being burnt to death in South Carolina the week before, for murdering her master. An acquaintance of mine told me he was staying at the time at an inn in the neighbourhood, from which many of the company went to see the horrid spectacle. On so serious a subject as this, I am particularly guarded in mentioning to you nothing for which I have not unquestionable authority. The following fact rests on the evidence of my own senses. At a dining party of five or six gentlemen, I heard one of the guests, who is reputed a respectable planter, say, in the course of conversation, that he shot at one of his slaves last year with intent to kill

him for running away; that on another occasion, finding that two runaway slaves had taken refuge on his plantation, he invited some of his friends out of town to dinner and *a frolic*; that after dinner they went out to hunt the slaves, and hearing a rustling in the reeds or canes in which they believed them to be concealed, "they "all fired at their *game*, but unfortunately "missed." Does not your blood curdle? Yet he did not appear to be sensible that he was telling any thing extraordinary, nor to understand the silence of astonishment and horror. I could extend this sad recital; but why should I harrow up your feelings? No incident could supply, indeed imagination could scarcely conceive a more striking and decisive proof than is afforded by the last anecdote, of the degree to which the Negro is degraded in the public estimation. If any place is allotted to him in the scale of humanity, it is so low, and so distant from that occupied by his White brethren, as frequently to exclude him in a great measure from their sympathy. The planter whom example and habit have led him to believe, that he must render the Negro industrious by the use of the lash, and obedient by shooting the refractory, acts as you and I should, doubtless have acted, under similar

circumstances; but is not that a horrible system which so deranges the feelings of men of education and liberal attainments? Nothing but familiarity with the degradation and sufferings of the Negroes could induce their White masters, many of whom are respectable, liberal, and humane in the ordinary relations of life, to tolerate the constant use of the *lash*. You see the overseer continually stalking about with his long lashed whip, while the poor slaves are toiling with little rest or respite from morn to night—for here I observe they seem to work many hours longer than in Carolina, and the system is considered far more severe. A friend told me, that while walking on the Levée, at New Orleans, he has distinctly heard the successive lashes on the back of a poor slave, on the other side of the Mississippi, which is half-a-mile across. Another friend, who was riding with me here, told me, that one evening lately, spending a night at the house of a planter, who was from home, the planter's wife said how glad she was to see him, as she was just going to flog one of her slaves, and would he be kind enough to save her the trouble. My friend, however, who was from the north, had not been accustomed to the office, and did not choose to take

the hint, broad as it was. The lady resumed the subject before supper, and again as soon as the cloth was drawn, when my friend told her he could not think of complying with her wishes. She was extremely offended, and evinced her displeasure so openly, that had there been another house within a few miles my friend would have withdrawn. Before bed time, however, another traveller arrived, to whom the lady complained aloud of the ungentlemanly conduct of her first guest, and who at once undertook the office, without inquiring into the offence. You will not wonder, after these details, that a white man considers it a degradation to eat with a black one; and that if you take a white servant to a planter's or an inn, he is obliged to have separate meals; and, where it is practicable, an apartment separate from the black servants. I remember, that as the mail stopped in Virginia and Carolina, I generally saw a little white boy stuffed in one corner; and for a long time without being particularly struck with the circumstance. At last, something leading me to inquire into the cause, I found there was a law prohibiting the mail bags being entrusted to a black man. Now, as the coachmen were Negroes, this little lad was stuffed in, as a matter of form, as the

nominal white guard of the United States' mail bags.

And who are these fellow-creatures who are thus degraded below the level of their kind; and what is the crime which is visited with the sufferings I have detailed? Are they cannibals, who have invaded these peaceful regions to massacre and devour its inhabitants? monsters whom no bonds of amity can restrain from rapine and devastation, whose hand is against every man, and every man's hand, therefore, of necessity and in self-defence, against them? No, my friend; they are the simple, docile, unoffending natives of a distant land, whose colour is their crime, and who have been torn from their kindred and their country by stratagem and force. They are the people of whom Mungo Park observes, after alluding to those traces of our general depravity which are to be found among the Negroes as much as in every other branch of the human family; "It is im-
"possible for me to forget the disinterested
"charity and tender solicitude of many of these
"poor heathens, from the sovereign of Sego to
"the poor women who received me at different
"times into their cottages when I was perishing
"with hunger, sympathized with me in my suf-
"ferings, relieved my distresses, and contributed

" to my safety. This acknowledgment, howeve., " is more particularly due to the female part of " the nation. In all my wanderings and wretch- " edness, I have found *them* uniformly kind and " compassionate; and I can truly say, as my " predecessor, Mr. Ledyard, has eloquently said " before me, to a Negro woman I never " addressed myself in the language of decency " and friendship, without receiving a decent and " friendly answer. If I was hungry and thirsty, " wet or sick, they did not hesitate, like the " men, to perform a generous action. In so free " and kind a manner did they contribute to my " relief, that if I was dry, I drank the sweetest " draught, and if hungry, I eat the coarsest " morsel with a double relish."

These are the people whose progressive improvement will, I hope, one day vindicate the prophetic strain of one of our most beautiful and devotional poets:

" —— But his mother's eye
" That gazes on him from her warmest sky,
" Sees in his flexile limbs untutored grace,
" Power on his forehead, beauty in his face;
" Sees in his breast where lawless passions rove,
" The heart of friendship, and the home of love;
" Sees in his mind, where desolation reigns,
" Fierce as his clime, uncultured as his plains,
" A soil where virtue's fairest flowers *might* shoot,
" And trees of science bend with glorious fruit;

" Sees in his soul, involved in thickest night,
" An emanation of eternal light,
" Ordained 'midst sinking worlds his dust to fire,
" And shine for ever when the stars expire."

An extensive Slave-trade is carried on between these regions and those western parts of the States of Virginia, Maryland, the Carolinas, and Georgia, in which they find it more profitable to breed slaves for the market, than to raise the appropriate produce of the soil. I have already mentioned the numerous *gangs*, which I continually fell in with on my route from the Atlantic to the Gulf of Mexico; and I have understood that from Maryland and Virginia alone, from 4000 to 5000 per annum are occasionally sent down to New Orleans: a place, the very name of which seems to strike terror into the slaves and free Negroes of the middle States. I was asked by a very intelligent free black servant, at the house where I lodged in Philadelphia, to tell him *really* whether the free Negroes whom the Colonization Society were professing to send to Africa, were not actually sent to New Orleans; as it was said that as soon as the vessel was out of sight of land she steered her course thither; that he knew there were friends to the Negroes in the Society, who would not agree to deceive and sell them, but

he thought they might be deceived themselves, and that nothing but this apprehension had prevented him from offering to go to Africa, as he much liked the plan.

Instances are not rare of slaves destroying themselves, by cutting their throats, or other violent means, to avoid being sent to Georgia or New Orleans. An instance is on record of a poor black woman, in the winter of 1815, torn from her husband, and destined for transportation to Georgia, throwing herself at day-break from the third story of a tavern in Washington; and slaves are marching in open day in manacles, on their melancholy journey southward, past the very walls of the capitol, where the Senate of this free Republic conduct their deliberations. Indeed, this trade between the Middle and Southern States has given rise to the horrible practice of kidnapping free black men, and has introduced into the heart of a country pre-eminently proud of her free institutions, a sort of tegria, or man-stealing, which one had hoped was confined to the deserts of Africa. It is stated by Mr. Torrey, a gentleman of the medical profession, in a work which he has published, called "American Slave Trade," that under the existing laws, if a "free coloured man travels "without passports, certifying his right to his

"liberty, he is generally apprehended, and fre-
"quently plunged (with his progeny) into
"slavery by the operation of the laws." He observes: "The preceding facts clearly exem-
"plify the safety with which the free-born
"(black) inhabitants of the United States may
"be offered for sale, and sold, even in the
"metropolis of liberty, as oxen, even to those
"who are notified of the fact, and are, perhaps,
"convinced that they are free."

But why do I enter into these sad details? Is it to reproach America with a stain with which our own immaculate country is unsullied? I have not so forgotten the nature of our colonial bondage, nor the melancholy fact that Britons first introduced slavery on these western shores.

Is it to stigmatize slave-holders in general, as lax in their moral principles, savage in their dispositions, and dead to every feeling of justice and humanity? Nothing is farther from my intention than to insinuate an imputation so belied by facts. Among those who have the misfortune to be owners of slaves, I can number some of the most enlightened and benevolent individuals it has ever been my lot to know. General Washington was a Virginian slave-holder. Our excellent friend ———, whose

transcendent talents are only equalled by the purity of his principles and the ardour of his benevolence, is a Carolinian slave-proprietor; and some of our most estimable friends in England possess Negroes in the West Indies. The fact is, that it is not the body of planters in either country, but the nation at large, that is chargeable with having introduced this deplorable system, and on the nation rests the responsibility of devising some safe and equitable mode of ultimately extirpating it.

Why, then, do I enter into these sad details? Why, but to disclose to you the innate deformity of slavery itself, the evils inherent in its very nature; to exhibit to your view the dark aspect which it assumes, and the horrid atrocities to which it gives birth, even under a government pre-eminently free; in the bosom of a young and enlightened people, and in the broad day-light and sunshine of benign and liberal institutions. And is this a system which England and America, pre-eminent among the nations, can justify and uphold? Is this a system which they are willing to perpetuate? Is this a system which, in our day and generation, we can be content to hand down to posterity without one note of reprobation, one evidence of contrition, one step towards its ultimate,

even though remote, extinction? Do we glory in having abolished our slave-trade, and shall we continue to look with complacency on slavery itself?

If to reduce the African to slavery was a violation of his natural rights, for the nation to sanction the holding him in bondage one moment longer than is necessary to prepare him for freedom, is it not to participate in the injustice? And what, though the sacrifice should be a costly one, and the task of emancipation perplexing and difficult? No sacrifice is so costly as the sacrifice of justice and humanity; no expectation more unfounded and puerile than that of returning without pain and effort from the dark and devious labyrinths of error.

But even if principle did not require the sacrifice, an enlightened view of self-interest would suggest it. If the Gordian knot be not untied, it will be cut.

And who that views with a dispassionate eye the state of our West India colonies, and of the slave-holding States of America, can imagine that the present system can be of very long duration? That emancipation is a most difficult and perplexing problem, I readily admit; but that it is visionary and impracticable no one

can maintain who believes slavery to be at variance with the laws of our Creator, and obedience to his laws the duty of his creatures. And are there no instances on record to prove its practicability? none in the contemporaneous history of the South American provinces? none in the annals of the United States? none in the gradual revolutions of society in Europe? none in the progress of liberty in Great Britain herself?

In the New England States, once polluted with slavery, not a trace now remains of that odious system; and even so long since as the year 1770, in a suit on the part of several slaves in Massachusetts against their masters for their freedom, and for wages for past services, the Negroes obtained a verdict, which gave a death-blow to slavery there. In New York and Pennsylvania, emancipation has been proceeding systematically for years, and in three or four years the fixed period will arrive when it will be complete. In other parts of America, slavery exhibits itself in those intermediate and transitive states, which are at once a gradual approach to freedom, and an excellent preparation for it.

In England, slavery, which once blackened her fair fields, " was not ploughed up by

"revolution, or mown down by the scythe of "legislative abolition, but was plucked up, stalk "by stalk, by the progressive hand of private "and voluntary enfranchisement. Slavery "ceased in England only because the last slave "at length obtained his manumission, or died "without a child. Why, then, should not the "future extinction of slavery in the colonies be "accomplished by the same happy means which "formerly put an end to it in England— "namely, by a benign, though insensible, revo- "lution in opinions and manners; by the encou- "ragement of particular manumissions, and the "progressive melioration of the condition of "the slaves, till it should slide insensibly into "freedom?" Not that the planters should be required to manumit their Negroes, especially on a sudden, without compensation. It would be robbery, under the garb of mercy, to compel one class of individuals to atone for the injustice of a nation. But the planters may, and ought to be required to adopt such plans for improving the social, moral, and intellectual condition of their slaves, as *will* facilitate their ultimate emancipation. Last Sunday, at the church, (till lately there was no church here,) two Methodist ministers from Ohio preached, having stopped here on their way down the river to New

Orleans with produce. At the close of the service, one of them rose, and said, that they did not come there to interfere with the institutions of society, or to excite commotion or confusion, but that it was their wish to address the Black population in the evening, if the planters should make no objection; that they knew it would not be generally agreeable to the planters; but they called upon them solemnly to consider the dreadful responsibility they would incur if they prevented their Negroes from hearing the message sent by our gracious Creator to the whole family of the human race. A deep silence followed, no planter opposed, and to the surprise of many present, the ministers were allowed to preach to the slaves.

I lately saw in the newspapers a notice from the mayor of one of the principal cities in the South, presenting an extract from the law which prohibits the instruction of slaves, expressing his regret to observe that this law had been infringed upon in several instances lately, by teaching the slaves to read and write; and declaring his intention to inflict the penalty if the offence should be repeated. And yet, in the Northern States, among the most interesting objects which I saw, were the schools in which some hundreds of free black Africans were receiving

the elements of a somewhat liberal education, and where they exhibited both industry and intelligence.

I am sure I shall not have wearied, however much I may have afflicted you, with the foregoing communications; but it is time I should now turn to other subjects. You ask me to inform you at what price a planter can afford to sell his cotton. To this question it is difficult to reply without entering into many particulars; since, paradoxical as it may appear, the expenses of production depend, in a great measure, on the current value of cotton, and follow the more material fluctuations in its market price. Thus, when cotton rises, the value of Negroes advances in about the same proportion. Indian corn, their principal article of subsistence, follows, but at a little distance, because it can be imported from other states, and land at a still greater, because almost every planter possesses more than he actually cultivates. Corresponding effects are produced by a fall of cotton in foreign markets. It is evident, therefore, that a planter may realize at very different prices of cotton the same interest in his capital, understanding by his capital the sum which his land and Negroes would command at the respective periods, or which it would be necessary to invest in land

and Negroes, in order to produce the same quantity of cotton. Alterations in the value of cotton, therefore, affect *the value of his capital*, but not the rate of interest, which he derives from it; and fifteen cents per lb, when the value is reduced one-half, may afford him the average profits of stock in the country in which he resides, as certainly as thirty cents before the reduction. The expense of clothing the Negroes is almost the only element in the cost of production in cotton, which does not follow its fluctuations in value, and this is not considerable. Could land and Negroes, therefore, in any particular country be applied to no other purpose than the production of the subsistence of the labourer and of cotton, the planter might afford to sell his cotton, or, in other words, have an inducement to cultivate it, at any price (three or four cents, perhaps,) at which his crop would leave a surplus, after paying the expense of clothing his Negroes; a sale of his land and Negroes being on this supposition impracticable, and his only choice lying between a small profit and none. This, however, is no where *absolutely* the case; and in order, therefore, to judge of the probability of an increase or diminution in the culture of cotton, it is of less consequence to inquire into the cost of production at any

particular time (which may be easily ascertained, the items which compose the cost of production being taken at their current rates) than to ascertain the lowest price at which cotton would yield as large a return as other articles which might be substituted in its place. The price of other articles, therefore, enters essentially into the question, and any permanent rise or fall in the price of these would have the same effect in increasing or diminishing the growth of cotton, as a rise or fall in the price of cotton itself. For instance, if indigo at one dollar per lb, and cotton at fifteen cents per lb, afforded an equal remuneration to the planter, it might be a matter of indifference to him which he should cultivate; but if indigo permanently advanced to two dollars, or cotton permanently fell to ten cents per lb, the culture of indigo would be materially increased, and that of cotton proportionably diminished. Now to apply this to the actual situation of the United States. In South Carolina and Georgia, the principal articles of culture at present are rice, a little tobacco, Indian corn, and cotton. The tobacco and rice lands are not generally suitable, I believe, to the culture of cotton; and it is not likely that any probable variation in their relative value would lead to a very material alteration in the relative

extent of their cultivation. The soil, however, most adapted to the culture of cotton, is very congenial to the growth of Indian corn. If, therefore, we could imagine a foreign demand for Indian corn so extensive as to sustain it permanently at a price which would leave a greater profit than the culture of cotton, the cultivation of the latter would no doubt decline. This, however, cannot be anticipated, as the enormous quantity which would be raised would soon depress the price, and the foreign markets would ultimately be supplied by those states which possess as great, or greater advantages, for the cultivation of Indian corn, and are less adapted for the production of other staple commodities. It does not, therefore, appear probable (the cultivation of indigo having been abandoned, and that of hemp being easily overdone,) that there are articles of produce which in Georgia or Carolina could be substituted extensively for cotton, even though that article should decline considerably. It is possible, however, to transport the Negroes to other states; and it is necessary, therefore, to inquire whether any culture in the neighbouring states would afford an inducement to migration in case of a material decline in the price of cotton. Sugar, and perhaps sugar only, does afford such an

inducement; but its growth is limited by a certain latitude, and there is a regular supply of slaves from Virginia and North Carolina, not previously employed in the cultivation of cotton, and more than equal to the annual demand for the culture of sugar. Some of the spare land on the plantations is generally applied to the growth of Indian corn, for the subsistence of the slaves. Their subsistence on a cotton plantation may be regarded as costing the planter little, since his Negroes could plant one-third more cotton than they can pick.—The Indian corn, therefore, is obtained from land, which would otherwise be unoccupied, and labour which would otherwise be unemployed. A very high price of cotton, indeed, will tempt the planter to buy his Indian corn, and plant more cotton; but this requires a degree of cruelty, in overworking the slaves in the picking season, which many are unwilling to exercise, and most are ashamed to avow. Many of the small planters told me that they were always uncomfortable when cotton was high; as they put their families, as it were, on short allowance, and adopted a system of saving and scrambling, for the inconveniences of which their profits did not compensate. A very low price of cotton might, on the other hand, lessen the stimulus to

exertion and privation; but the planters are very generally in debt, and are, therefore, compelled to activity, in order to preserve their estates in their own hands. Those who wish to lead an idle agricultural life, remove to the *cultivated* parts of the western country.

It is one of the inconveniences to which slave-proprietors are exposed, (especially where the range of the articles to which the climate is favourable is limited,) that they are constantly liable to a great extinction of capital by a reduction in the foreign market of the value of the articles they produce. The cost of production in that country which can supply the articles at the cheapest rate and in sufficient quantity, fixes the price to which all the others must conform. Now if that price be insufficient to remunerate the cultivator by free labour, he discontinues the cultivation, and dismisses his labourers. The cultivator by slave labour, on the contrary, being compelled still to maintain his slaves, continues also to employ them; but the value of the articles being reduced, the value of *man*, the machine which produces them, is depreciated nearly in the same proportion, and this depreciation may proceed so far, as to render the labour of a slave worth so little more than his maintenance, as to afford no recompence to his

owner for care and superintendance. In the progress towards this state of things, manumissions would multiply rapidly, for they would cost little; experiments would be made favourable to the freedom of the Negro; many slaves would become free labourers, and slavery would verge towards its termination.

Does not this view of the subject throw a gleam of hope over the dark picture? But it is not from free labour alone that the West India and American planters have much to fear. They have already most formidable competitors in those foreign colonies into which the importation of slaves is still admitted. But I will not pursue the subject. I will only add that the great revolutions which the natural course of events is silently effecting in the West, are calculated to rivet the attention both of the planter and of the philanthropist, and to inspire each of them with feelings of the most intense interest, though not a little differing in their complexion.

I must not forget to tell you, long as my letter is, that this place derives its name from the Natchez, a celebrated tribe of Indians, extinguished some time since with circumstances of peculiar cruelty. Dr. Robertson describes them as distinguished from the other southern

tribes by hereditary rank, and the *worship of the sun.* The Choctaws, of whom there are nearly 20,000 in this State, often pay us a visit. A friend of mine who was present, lately mentioned to me a circumstance strongly indicative of the equivocal *transitive* nature of their present state. As soon as the warriors had assembled to meet the deputation from the Government of the United States, for the usual distribution of presents, &c. and all was prepared, the principal chief addressed the American agent, and said, "Well, I see every thing is ready;—I "just take my little frolic for three days, and "then we proceed to business." The agent remonstrated sharply, observing, that he and his people had come a great way to meet the warriors in their own land, and that it would be extremely inconvenient to them to be detained; that if he was determined to have a frolic, he had better wait till the distribution was over, and then he might frolic as long as he chose. The chief replied, that pleasure was no pleasure, unless a man might have it at his own time and in his own way;—that if they were distributing whiskey or dollars, he could not trust his people, and would keep as sober as any body; but the implements of husbandry were safe, and a frolic he would have. He then drank furiously of

whiskey, and remained in a state of brutal intoxication for three days; after which he came out, to use my friend's expression, as bright as a dollar, and proceeded to business, with an alertness and sagacity, to all appearance, unimpaired by his excesses.—I have not mentioned, that in consequence of the fever last year, more than half of the families seem to be in mourning; and instances have been stated to me of great generosity on the part of the planters towards those whom the ravages of death have deprived of their natural protectors, and left orphans and destitute.

We hope to set out in a few days on horseback, through the Indian country, to Richmond, in Virginia.

Letter XII.

Missionary Settlement of Elliot, in the Yaloo Busha,
In the Indian Nation of the Choctaws,
19th May, 1820.

My last letter was from Natchez, of the 8th instant. The same day I went to visit a very pleasant family, residing eight miles from Natchez, the family of the late Mr. W. D——. He was, I believe, the son of Sir A. D——, of T——, in Scotland; and coming to this country in early life, he accumulated a large fortune, by judicious cotton planting. With the superiority of the cotton from his plantation, our English cotton-spinners are well acquainted. He also made considerable literary acquirements; and was denominated by Mr. Jefferson, the philosopher of the woods. His widow lives in a very handsome house, in the middle of the woods, near the centre of their cotton plantations; and her eldest son, who studied medicine in the North, that he might practise gratuitously among the Negroes of the various branches of the family, lives with her. His wife is a young lady from the neighbourhood of Philadelphia;

and some female friends from that city were staying with her. The interior of the house, and the domestic economy, resembled that of the family of one of our wealthy country gentlemen; and the manners of the inmates were such as you expect to meet with in well-educated and well-bred society in England. I spent two days there very agreeably. The mornings were devoted to riding with the ladies, or inspecting the cotton plantations with the gentlemen, and the evenings to music and conversation. The morning after I arrived, we started at four o'clock on a deer hunt. I was stationed with my horse and gun at a particular pass in the woods, where I was told the deer was sure to come; and I was directed how to conceal myself behind the trees, so as to have the opportunity of shooting it as soon as it should appear. I waited in vain for nearly three hours, wet and cold with the morning dew, but all in vain; for although the hounds often seemed to be in full cry, and very near me, my friends who had hunted them, at last came reluctantly to tell me that the day was now so far advanced, that there was no chance. On our return, the ladies, who walked a little way to meet us, gave us a hunter's breakfast, although we had not quite earned it. As I was to set off on my journey

from Natchez early in the morning, I wished to have returned the preceding evening; but two hours' rain had so swelled an intervening creek, that one of the gentlemen of the family returning from town, had to dash in on horseback, and swim across. I accordingly returned on the 10th, and soon afterwards set out on our journey of 1100 or 1200 miles to Virginia, our horses and ourselves in high health and spirits. I had taken much pains to select two good horses, and was very anxious during the first two or three days to see how they turned out. They were of a moderate size, and cost about £30 to £35 each. We slept that night at Grenville, 22 miles distant, and intended sleeping the following night at Port Gibson; but the evening being fine, and our horses fresh, we proceeded to Beard's, 14 miles further, where I lay in the kitchen, with many around me, on the bare floor. Numerous little torturers kept me awake nearly all night; and thankful to get on horseback, on the first appearance of approaching day, I rode to a small solitary house, 12 miles distant, to breakfast. Here I found a quiet family, who had removed from Maryland some years since, and who regretted the change, the husband having been ill, and the country not answering their expectations. There were only

seven families in the neighbourhood, but they had contrived to raise a schoolmaster, paying him 30 dollars per annum for each child. About four miles from this house, we entered the Choctaw nation, proceeding on what is called the Natchez or Kentucky Trace, the road by which the Kentuckians and Tennessians return home from Natchez through the wilderness, when they have broken up the boats, in which they convey the produce of the Western Country down the Mississippi.

This day we almost unavoidably, and in opposition to our better judgment, travelled 51 miles. We slept at Osborne's, (you must not expect to hear of towns or villages in this country;) and setting off early, reached Dokes's, 40 miles distant, at sunset, travelling, as we always do, at a moderate walk. Our horses had been very fresh; but as soon as I dismounted, mine was taken so ill with the colic, that for two hours I thought he would have died, and left us with a journey of 1100 miles before us. He was restored, however, to our great delight, by rather curious treatment. The Indians first opened a vein in his mouth, and made him swallow a considerable quantity of his own blood, and then forced down his throat about a quart of a mixture of soot and whiskey—

walking him about for two or three hours. The following day, Sunday, we were visited by many Indians, some of whom were rather importunate for whiskey or tobacco. In the woods, about half-a-mile distant, fifty or sixty were collected to revenge the death of a woman, who had been murdered a few days before as a witch; but matters appeared likely to be compromised without bloodshed*.

Toward evening, ten or twelve travellers dropped in—a noisy set. We all slept on bear-skins on the floor. Our host told me that there were not five nights in the year, in which some travellers did not sleep there, and that seventy or eighty occasionally called in a day. He removed from North Carolina about nine years ago, and has acquired considerable property.

We set off early on the 15th of May; and finding that at the cabin where we purposed to stop, they no longer received travellers, we had to go 25 miles to breakfast. Here we got some coffee in an Indian hut, where the inhabitants could not speak English.

As soon as it appeared to be twelve o'clock by the sun, three of the Indian women covered themselves with blankets, and approached a

* We afterwards saw by the newspapers that the dispute terminated in a bloody conflict.

little spot in the garden, enclosed by six upright poles, on the highest of which were suspended several chaplets of vine leaves and tendrils: here they either sat or kneeled (the blankets preventing our seeing which) for about twenty minutes, uttering a low monotonous wailing. This mournful ceremony they repeat, at sunrise, noon, and sunset, for ninety days, or three moons, as the Egyptians mourned for Jacob threescore and ten days. I have since been informed, by a very intelligent Indian, that the period of mourning is sometimes extended to four or five moons, if the individual be deeply regretted, or of eminent rank; and that it is occasionally determined by the time occupied in killing the deer and other animals necessary for the great feast which is often given at the pulling up of the poles.

At the celebrated ceremony of the "pole-"pulling," the family connexions assemble from a great distance; and, when they are particular in observing the ancient customs, they spend two or three days and nights in solemn preparation and previous rites. They then all endeavour to take hold of some part of the poles, which they pluck up and throw behind them without looking, moving backward toward the east. They then feast together, and disperse

to their several homes. It was impossible to hear this simple recital without thinking of the account in Genesis l. 1—14.

Till within ten or fifteen years, the Choctaws generally killed the favourite horses or dogs of the deceased, and buried them, with his gun and hatchet, in his grave. They still sometimes bury the gun; but it is too frequently stolen: and they now satisfy themselves with believing that the spirits of the horses and dogs will rejoin that of their master at their death. The settlement of White people among them, and occasional intermarriages, have undermined many of their customs.

About sunset we arrived at Smallwood's, 40 miles from Dokes's, having proceeded a few miles further than we intended, in order to see a grand Indian dance and ball play, which was to take place in the neighbourhood. While getting some refreshment at the cabin of a pretty Indian woman, we saw the Indians traversing the woods in different directions, and proceeding towards the scene of their festivities. On joining them two hours afterwards, in an open space which they had partially cleared in the middle of the wood, we found them lying or sitting round fifteen or twenty fires, the ball poles erected at the distance of 200 yards from

each other, serving, in some degree, as two common centres for the rival parties and their friends. There appeared to be altogether about 200. The men were elegantly dressed in cotton dresses of white, or red, or blue, with belts, handsomely embroidered, and mocassins of brown deer skin. Several of them had circular plates of silver, or silver crescents, hanging from their necks, while others had the same round their arms, and others silver pendents attached to the cartilage of the nose. Some of them had cotton turbans, with white feathers in front, and other black plumes nodding behind. The women, too, were in their gala dress; and we had now, for the first time, the satisfaction of seeing them elevated to their proper rank, the companions, and not the abject slaves, of their husbands. We were a little surprised, however, (dare I say disappointed?) to find, that while the dress of the men was so original and picturesque, that of the women differed so little from the Sunday clothes of our female peasants. Gowns of printed calico formed the common dress, and some had, in addition, a loose red cloak, which they folded round them with an elegant negligence, which would have done no discredit to a duchess. Their long black hair, tied up behind, shone as brightly as if it had

had the advantage of the highly vaunted Macassar Oil. They were, however, overloaded with necklaces and silver ornaments; and with the exception of some young women, who were very handsome, they were coarse and ill formed, exhibiting little of the symmetry of the compact muscular figures of the men.

Soon after our arrival, a tall Indian, who seemed to have the direction, went round to the different fires, making a singular noise, to induce the dancers to take their places; but he appeared to have as much difficulty in prevailing on his companions to stand up as if he had been the manager of a country assembly. At last, six women approached the ball poles, standing opposite each other three and three; and then about forty men of the same side gathered into a little crowd, at a short distance. A small drum, made of a deer skin, stretched upon a gourd, then beat, the women gradually mingling their voices with its sound, and dancing slowly in the same place, with eyes fixed upon the ground. In a minute or two, the men set up a hideous yell, brandished their ball sticks in the air, and ran with vehemence to a fire about forty paces distant, when they repeated their shrieks and vociferations, and then ran with impetuosity to their former places. This was

repeated, with little intervals, as long as we staid, and, I believe, till after midnight; the same thing going on in the other party, at the opposite ball poles, which we sometimes visited.

I forgot to say, that the men stripped, previous to the dance, retaining only their girdle, and a long white tail, like that of a wild colt, which gave them a most whimsical and savage appearance, and reminded me of Lord Monboddo's theory.

I was informed at my Indian's, where I slept on a bear-skin, that the dance, which always takes place on the eve of a celebrated ball play, is significant of the great feats they intend to perform the next day; and that the song of the women, which rather resembles a funeral dirge, is an encouragement to the men to dance, being literally, "Come to the dance—come follow the "dance." This translation was given to me, by my pretty Indian hostess, who had been in the habit of speaking English a short time only. She was the first Indian woman whom I had heard speak English; often when they understand it, and can speak a little, it is impossible to extract a word from them. They are really modest; and it is so much the custom among them to laugh at the smallest mistake made by an Indian, in speaking his own tongue, that

they dread the ridicule they would expect to excite if they spoke broken English. The Indians slept in the woods, many of them having brought their children; and some of them came to our little cabin the next morning to breakfast with us, particularly the young brothers of our hostess. About eight o'clock, they all assembled in the ball-ground; the men again stripped to their turban and girdle, and their bodies besmeared with oil. The rival parties then met half-way between the ball-poles —their ball sticks laid on the division line; they then shook hands and joked with each other, while some went round to collect the stakes; some of the women staking their necklaces, and the men their clothes. Sometimes they stake their horses, and every thing they have in the world. They then proceeded to the game, which I will not attempt to describe farther, than by saying it extremely resembles cricket; and that it gives rise to such a display of agility and strength, as would have been witnessed with delight in an ancient amphitheatre. Indeed, as many are sometimes wounded, and some occasionally killed, it might not be entirely without interest to the humane spectators of a Spanish bull-fight. All violence on these occa-

sions, I am told, is forgiven, and that it is the only case in which life is not required for life.

The law of retaliation is still almost in full force among the Choctaws; the nearest relation of a fugitive murderer being liable to expiate the offence. An intelligent Indian told me, however, that the Choctaws are becoming more anxious than formerly that the offender himself should suffer; and that his family and that of the deceased generally unite, if necessary, to prevail on him to kill himself. He said, that three or four instances of this kind usually happen in a year, in the circle of his acquaintance; that it is more common for an Indian, who has killed another by accident or design, to remain with the body till he is found, lest his relations should suffer. He mentioned a circumstance of difficulty, which was then pending in the neighbourhood. A woman, being greatly insulted and defamed in the presence of her husband, and threatened with a blow from a knife, stabbed her assailant to the heart: doubts have arisen whether she is bound to kill herself, her family insisting that circumstances justified the deed.

With regard to the law of retaliation among the Creeks, I was informed, that of late years,

if the slayer escaped, his crime was not visited on his relations; but here among the Choctaws, I am told, the nearest relation must expiate the offence; but that if an Indian kills another by accident or design, he is scarcely ever known to leave the body till he is found, lest his friend should suffer.

We left the Indians about eleven o'clock, much gratified by the opportunity we had had of witnessing their festivities, and staid all night at Wilson's, 18 miles distant.

The following morning we set off, as usual, about four o'clock, and breakfasted at the house of an Irishman, who left Waterford 30 years since, to carry on the fur trade, buying the furs from the Indians, and selling them at Mobile and Pensacola. The embargo interrupted his trade, and he is settled here with his Indian wife.

We here left the Kentucky Trace, with the intention of visiting the Missionary Settlement among the Choctaws, at Elliot, about sixty miles distant from our road. Our course was through the woods, along a blazed path, about a foot broad; and, as it was necessary to procure a guide, our host rode with us till he had engaged an Indian, who, for a dollar, attended us 25 miles on his little horse. Here I saw the

only instance of tattooing, which fell under my observation among the Indians; the mother of our guide having her breast completely chequered, in a regular pattern, with blue lines very close. At night, we reached the cabin of a half-breed, who took us in. We found him setting a trap for a wolf, which had attempted a few hours before, to carry off a pig in sight of the family. He very hospitably killed a cow for our supper, part of which was on the table, in the shape of beef-steaks, within two hours after it was shot, a common mode of killing cattle in this country. I was amused by his method of summoning his herd from the neighbouring woods. This he effected by means of a whip, with a stock of two or three feet in length, and a lash, so very long, that after repeated trials, neither my servant nor I could manage it. Swinging it round his head, at first slowly, but with accelerated velocity, till the lash had acquired a momentum, which sustained it in a horizontal position, he cracked it suddenly with such dexterity, that I mistook it for the explosion of a gun at the cabin door, and ran out. I could scarcely believe them, when they explained to me the cause of the noise, until a herdsman repeated the experiment. In about

half an hour we saw the cattle coming slowly out of the surrounding forest.

In the course of the evening, one of the missionary brethren arrived from Elliot, for some cattle which were ranging in the woods; and on learning our intention, he promised us a hearty welcome at the establishment.

The following day, we set off early, our friends having procured an Indian to take us the first twelve miles: he could not speak English; but, having received his quarter of a dollar, and parted from us at the appointed place, he returned to draw our track in the sand, pointing out all the forks and little cross-paths, and again left us. After proceeding about a mile, where we were a little embarrassed, we were surprised to find him again at our side, making motions to direct our route. Again we shook hands and parted, but being again puzzled by a diverging path, half a mile distant, we looked round almost instinctively, and saw the faithful fellow still watching our steps: he then came up and set us right; made signs that our road now lay in the direction of the sun; and finally disappeared, leaving us much affected by his disinterested solicitude. About three o'clock, we arrived at Elliot, and met with a most kind reception; but this for another letter.

Letter XIII.

Missionary Settlement of Elliot, on the Yaloo Busha,
In the Indian Nation of the Choctaws,
State of Mississippi, 20th May, 1820.

My letter to ——— was too long to allow me to give any account of this interesting Settlement. We had a delightful ride along our Indian path, through a forest of fine oaks; which, within ten or twelve miles of Yaloo Busha, was occasionally interspersed with small natural prairies, and assumed the appearance of an English park. I felt as if I were approaching consecrated ground; and the confidence which I had in the kindness of those on whom I was going to intrude myself, (Christian kindness is not capricious,) relieved me from any awkwardness about my reception. If I had felt any, it would soon have been dismissed by the simple hospitality of the Missionaries.

Soon after my arrival, we proceeded to the school, just as a half-breed, who has taken great interest in it, was preparing to give the children "a talk," previous to returning home, 60 miles distant. He is a very influential chief, and a

man of comprehensive views: he first translated into Choctaw, a letter to the children, from some benevolent friends in the north, who had sent it with a present of a box of clothes, and then gave them a long address in Choctaw. When he took leave, he shook hands with me—said he was glad to hear that the white people in England were interested in the welfare of their red brethren; that the Choctaws were sensible of their want of instruction, and that their teachers were pleased to say that they were not incapable of it; that they were grateful for what had been done; and were aware that it was their duty to co-operate, to the utmost of their ability, with those who were exerting themselves on their behalf.

As soon as school was over, the boys repaired to their agricultural labours; their instructor working with them, and communicating information in the most affectionate manner: the girls proceeded to their sewing and domestic employments, under the Missionary sisters. They were afterwards at liberty, till the supper-bell rang; when we all sat down together, to bread and milk, and various preparations of Indian corn; the Missionaries presiding at the different tables, and confining themselves, as is their custom, except in case of sickness, to

precisely the same food as the scholars. After supper, a chapter in the Bible was read, with Scott's Practical Observations. This was followed by singing and prayer; and then all retired to their little rooms, in their log-cabins.

In the morning, at day-light, the boys were at their agricultural, and the girls at their domestic employments. About seven o'clock, we assembled for reading, singing, and prayer, and soon afterwards, for breakfast. After an interval for play, the school opened with prayer and singing, a chapter in the Bible, and examination on the subject of the chapter of the preceding day. The children then proceeded to reading, writing, accounts, and English grammar, on a modification of the British system. The instructors say, that they never knew white children learn with so much facility; and the specimens of writing exhibited unequivocal proofs of rapid progress. Many spoke English very well.

Toward evening, I was gratified by the arrival of the Rev. Cyrus Kingsbury, who has the general superintendence of the mission. He had been determining the direction of a path, to be blazed to another settlement, on the Tombigbee river, in Alabama; and although he had slept in the woods in heavy rain the

preceding night, he sat up in my room till after midnight.

About midnight, we became thirsty with talking so much, and Mr. Kingsbury proposed that we should walk to a spring at a little distance. The night was beautifully serene, after the heavy showers of the preceding evening; and the coolness of the air, the fresh fragrance of the trees, the deep stillness of the midnight hour, and the soft light which an unclouded moon shed on the log-cabins of the Missionaries, contrasted with the dark shadows of the surrounding forest, impressed me with feelings which I can never forget. We looked cautiously around us, lest we should be surprised by wild beasts; and Mr. Kingsbury stopped to point out to me a plant, which, if swallowed immediately after the attack of a rattlesnake, proves an effectual antidote to the poison. He said he never stirred from home without some of it in his pocket, and that in the State of Mississippi it was commonly carried by all persons who traversed the forest. I could not help regarding this as a fresh illustration of that providential kindness, which so frequently ordains the proximity of the bane and antidote.

I remember another instance, mentioned by Humboldt, who saw persons who had followed

the courier from Caraccas, arrive at Cumana, ill of nervous and miasmatic fevers. The tree, of which the bark furnishes a salutary remedy for those fevers, grows in the same vallies, and upon the edge of the same forests, which send forth such dangerous exhalations.

The existence of any remedy for the bite of the rattlesnake has been much questioned; but I consider Mr. Kingsbury's authority as quite conclusive.*

The immediate object of the Settlement of Elliot, (called by the Indians Yaloo Busha, from

* "The remedies which prove efficacious against the bites of other serpents have been found unavailing against those of the rattlesnake, which causes certain but slow death, the deadly poison gradually diffusing itself through all the members. It takes away the use of the foot, arm, ear, and eye on that side which has been bitten, and presently, passing to the other, causes extreme torture, continual delirium, and acute pains, especially at the extremity of the feet and hands, which contract a cadaverous paleness, from being deserted by the blood, which is rendered torpid by the coldness of the venom. All this I observed in two Guarany youths, who were bitten by a rattlesnake. Both were under eighteen years of age, both were robust, and of strong constitutions. The first struggled with his pains twelve days, the other fourteen, at the expiration of which period they both died, the strength of the poison baffling the virtue of the most established remedies. Whenever I heard of any person being bitten by a rattlesnake, I immediately prepared him for death, by administering the sacrament to him before the delirium began. An Indian woman, in the flower of her age and strength, was

its proximity to a little river of that name which falls into the Yazoo,) is the religious instruction of the Indians. The Missionaries are, however, aware, that this must necessarily be preceded or accompanied by their civilization; and that mere preaching to the adult Indians, though partially beneficial to the present generation, would not probably be attended with any general or permanent results. While, therefore, the religious interests of the children are the objects nearest to their hearts, they are anxious to put them in possession of those qualifications

reduced to the last extremity by the pestilential bite of one of these rattlesnakes. However, to the astonishment of all, she escaped death; but having lost the use of her limbs, dragged on a miserable existence for many years."

"Nature may, perhaps, have afforded many remedies, which human ingenuity has not yet discovered, but which are, at any rate, unknown to the Paraguayrians. I am not ignorant that books do speak of medicines for this purpose, which they extol as divine; but all who have used them have found them of no avail. The Brazilians make use of little gourds, by which the poisoned wound is enlarged and dried. Sometimes they bind the wounded member with rush jacapé, to prevent the poison from spreading. They sometimes cauterize the wounded part. Before the poison reaches the heart, the sick man is induced to sweat, by drinking tapioca. Some Indians place much faith in the bruised head of a noxious serpent applied to the wound, which they also bathe in fasting saliva. But whether these remedies ever saved the life of any one who has been bitten by this most ravenous snake, I must be allowed to doubt."—*Dobrizhoffer's Hist. of Paraguay.*

which may secure to them an important influence in the councils of their nation, and enable them gradually to induce their roaming brethren to abandon their erratic habits for the occupations of civilized life. The general feelings of the nation, at this moment, are most auspicious to their undertaking. For the reasons which I assigned, when speaking of the Creeks, the community at large is very solicitous for civilization. In this they have made some progress; many of them growing cotton, and spinning and weaving it into coarse clothing.

Of the three districts or towns into which its 15,000 or 20,000 souls are divided, one has appropriated to the use of schools its annuity for seventeen years, of 2000 dollars per annum, received from the United States for ceded lands; another, its annuity of 1000 dollars per annum, with the prospect of 1000 more: and one has requested the United States, not only to forbid the introduction of ammunition into the nation, that the hunter may be compelled to work, but to send their annuity in implements of husbandry. At a recent general council of the chiefs, 1300 dollars in money, and upwards of eighty cows and calves, were subscribed for the use of schools, and the total contribution of the Choctaws to this object exceeds 70,000 dollars.

Here is noble encouragement for active benevolence! and the industry, judgment, and piety, of the seven or eight brethren and sisters at Elliot, seem to qualify them, in a peculiar manner, for their responsible office. They have all distinct departments—the Rev. Mr. Kingsbury being the superintendant; another brother, the physician and steward; another, the instructor of the children; another, the manager of the farm. The females also have separate and definite duties. At present, they are overworked; and the Rev. Mr. Kingsbury greatly regretted that so much of his attention was necessarily engrossed by secular concerns. But, coming into a wilderness, in which the first tree was felled scarcely eighteen months since, it has required no small portion of labour and exertion to erect ten or eleven little log-buildings, to bring into cultivation 40 or 50 acres of woodland, and to collect upwards of 200 head of cattle. A deep sense, however, of the importance of their object, and an unfaultering confidence in God's blessing on their exertions, have supported them under the difficultics of an infant settlement; and under the still severer trials of a final separation from the circle of their dearest friends, and a total renunciation of every worldly pursuit.

And, indeed, their situation is an enviable one. In a happy exemption from most of the cares and many of the temptations of common life; conversant with the most delightful and elevated objects of contemplation; stimulated to perpetual activity, by an imperious sense of duty; and conscious of disinterested sacrifices in the noblest cause; can we wonder if they manifest a degree of cheerfulness and tranquillity, seldom exhibited even by eminent Christians, who are more in the world? I was particularly struck with their apparent humility, with the kindness of their manner toward one another, and the little attentions which they seemed solicitous to reciprocate.

They spoke very lightly of their privations, and of the trials which the world supposes to be their greatest; sensible, as they said, that these are often experienced, in at least as great a degree, by the soldier, the sailor, or even the merchant. Yet, in this country, these trials are by no means trifling. Lying out, for two or three months, in the woods, on their way hither, with their little babes; in tents, which cannot resist the rain, here falling in torrents, such as I never saw in England; within sound of the nightly howling of wolves, and occasionally visited by panthers, which have approached

almost to the door; the ladies must be allowed to require some courage; while, during some seasons of the year, the gentlemen cannot travel 20 miles from home, (and they are sometimes obliged to go 30 or 40 for provisions,) without swimming their horses over four or five creeks. Yet, as all these inconveniences are suffered by others with cheerfulness, from worldly motives, they would wish them to be suppressed in the Missionary reports, if they were not calculated to deter many from engaging as Missionaries, under the idea that it is an easy retired life.

Their real trials they stated to consist in their own imperfections; and in those mental maladies, which the retirement of a desert cannot cure.

In the course of our walks, Mr. Williams pointed out to me a simple tomb, in which he had deposited the remains of a younger brother; who lost his way in the desert when coming out to join them, and whose long exposure to rain and fasting laid the seeds of a fatal disease. It was almost in sight of one of those Indian tumuli or mounds, which I have often met with in the woods, and of which the oldest Indians can give no account.* They are universally admitted

" Upon these mounds, trees of the largest size, whose concentric annular rings have been counted, have, in many

to be of great antiquity; and one of the Missionaries mentioned having seen a skeleton dug out of one of them.

Three young ladies were staying at the settlement, and assisting in its establishment, until the husbands of two of them should return from the Arkansaw, where they are exploring the country, to fix on an eligible situation for a mission to those Cherokees who have been induced to sell their lands in Georgia to the Government of the United States, and to seek a subsistence in the wilder forests beyond the Mississippi.

I was highly gratified by my visit to Elliot —this garden in a moral wilderness; and was pleased with the opportunity of seeing a Missionary settlement in its infant state, before the wounds of recent separation from kindred and friends had ceased to bleed; and habit had rendered the Missionaries familiar with the peculiarities of their situation.

The sight of the children also, many of them still in Indian costume, was most interesting. I could not help imagining, that, before me,

instances, as many as four hundred, and they appear to be at least the third growth since the works were occupied."—*Attwater, Archæologia Americana.*

might be some Alfred* of this western world, the future founder of institutions, which were to enlighten and civilize his country; some Choctaw Swartz or Elliot, destined to disseminate the blessings of Christianity, from the Mississippi to the Pacific, from the Gulf of Mexico to the Frozen Sea. I contrasted them in their social, their moral, and their religious condition, with the straggling hunters, with their painted faces, who occasionally stared through the windows; or, with the half-naked savages, whom we had seen in the forests a few nights before, dancing round their midnight fires, with their tomahawks and scalping knives, rending the air with their fierce war-whoop, or making the woods thrill with their savage yells. But they formed a yet stronger contrast with the poor Indians, whom we had seen on the frontier—corrupted, degraded, and debased by their intercourse with English, Irish, or American traders.

It was not without emotion that I parted, in all human probability for ever, from my kind

* "Some Alfred.—In the rolls of Fame,
And on a midnight page
To blaze his broad refulgent name,
The watchlight of his age."

Montgomery.

and interesting friends, and prepared to return to the tumultuous scenes of a busy world; from which, if life be spared, my thoughts will often stray to the sacred solitudes of Yaloo Busha, as to a source of the most grateful and refreshing recollections. I was almost the first person from a distance, who had visited this remote settlement; and was charged with several letters to the friends of the Missionaries. I believe they had pleasure in thinking that I should probably in a few weeks see those, the endearments of whose society they had renounced for ever in this world: it seemed to bring them nearer the scenes to which they had recently bid a last adieu. I felt a strange emotion, in being thus made the link of communication between these self-devoted followers of our blessed Lord, and the world which they had for ever quitted; and when I saw with what affection they cherished the recollection of many, whose faces they expected to see no more in this life, I turned with peculiar pleasure to our Saviour's animating assurance—"There is no man that hath left "house, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or "mother, or wife, or lands, for my sake and the "gospel's, but he shall receive a hundred-fold "now in this time, and in the world to come, "life everlasting."

I left with them a late number of the Missionary Register, and another of the Christian Observer, which I had received from England, while at New Orleans.

Mr. Kingsbury rode with us till we had safely forded the Yaloo Busha; but our route to the spot where I am finishing this letter, which I began at Elliot, I must reserve for my next. I forgot to say, that the Indians call the Misssionaries Aba-on-om-poolé, "Talking above."

Letter XIV.

Foot of the Cumberland Mountain, Tennessee,
29th May, 1820.

My two last letters were from Elliot; and as I found none waiting for me at Huntsville, to my great disappointment, I have now no hope of having later dates from home than the 19th of February, till I reach Richmond.

After parting with the Rev. Mr. Kingsbury on the banks of the Yaloo Busha, we proceeded through the woods, along an Indian path, till evening, when we reached the dwelling of a half-breed Choctaw, whose wife was a Chickasaw, and whose hut was on the frontier of the two nations. We found him sitting before the door, watching the gambols of fifty or sixty of his horses, which were frolicking before him; and of more than 200 very fine cattle, which, at sunset, were coming up as usual, of their own accord, from different parts of the surrounding forest, where they have a boundless and luxuriant range.* The whole scene reminded me

* He told us, that by giving the cattle a little salt, at the cowpen, at fixed periods, he secured the return of the most

strongly of pastoral and patriarchal times. He had chosen this situation, he said, for its retirement, (in some directions he had no neighbours for fifty or a hundred miles,) and because it afforded him excellent pasturage and water for his cattle: he added, that occupation would give him and his family a title to it as long as they chose. He had a few slaves to cultivate as much land as was necessary, and killed a few deer as he wanted them. Near the house were some bones of the buffalo; but that animal has

extensive herds, from whatever distance they might have strayed. Where persons divide their stock into herds of 100 to 200 each, and send them to different parts of the forest, that they may not interfere with each other's pasturage, it is usual, if possible, to place them within a few miles of a *salt-lick*, as it is called, since they are certain to visit it every few days; and the owner, when going to reclaim them, has only to pitch his tent there for a day or two, in order to be visited by the whole. When the herds are sent to a distance from home, it is common to go and see them every three or four weeks, for the purpose of keeping up a sort of acquaintance with them; but without some centre of attraction, it would be a hopeless task to look for them in these boundless forests.

Bradbury observes, in speaking of Upper Louisiana, "Salt furnishes the means, by the aid of which the shepherd, or the herdsman obtains a complete dominion over the will of his flocks or his herds, and, in the midst of this vast region, can call them around him at pleasure."

I saw two salt-licks, which had the appearance of plains of very white marble, of a sufficient consistency to retain the

not been seen in this part of the country for many years. He gave us a hospitable reception; and spread a bear-skin for each of us in his only room, which we occupied for two nights, the following day being Sunday.

As our host spoke English very well, and was very intelligent, our quiet meals gave me an opportunity of obtaining some information from him relative to the Indians.

His wife, a pleasing young woman, ate with us, but would not or could not speak English;

impressions of the feet of cattle, which seemed to have trodden it so completely in every part, that it was difficult to find a space of three inches without a footstep. These salt-licks, in which the earth is only partially impregnated with salt, are very different from such salines as are found in prairies, and which are described by Bradbury, as bearing a striking resemblance to a field of brilliant snow, after rain, with a light crust on its top.

The food of the cattle in this part of the country consists principally of cane, which forms a thick undergrowth in the forests for many hundred miles! The sweet and tender young shoots were devoured by our horses with great avidity, and we found that the droves of horses which the Kentuckians and Tennesseans brought down for sale to the south, require no other food during the journey. The cane which we saw was of two distinct species—the arundo-gigantea and the arundo-aquatica; the latter is found principally on the banks of rivers and creeks, and forms what are called Cane Brakes. In passing through these, early in the morning, before the dew had evaporated, we were generally completely wet through; and they seemed to form so admirable a covert for beasts of prey, that we passed them with timidity, and as rapidly as our unsound, swampy path would permit.

and I often smiled to find myself sitting over a cup of coffee between a Chickasaw and Choctaw.

He told me, that great changes had taken place among the Indians, even in his time; that in many tribes, when he was young, the children, as soon as they rose, were made to plunge into the water, and swim, in the coldest weather; and were then collected on the bank of the river, to learn the manners and customs of their ancestors, and hear the old men recite the traditions of their forefathers. They were assembled again, at sunset, for the same purpose; and were taught to regard, as a sacred duty, the transmission to their posterity of the lessons thus acquired. "And thou shalt teach them "diligently unto thy children, and shalt talk "of them when thou sittest in thy house, and "when thou walkest by the way, and when "thou liest down, and when thou risest up." He said, that this custom is now abandoned by all the tribes with which he is acquainted, except, to use his own words, "where there is, "here and there, an old ancient fellow, who "upholds the old way;" that many have talked of resuming their old customs, which the whites have gradually undermined; but are unable, from the loss of their traditions; that he supposes that these might be recovered, from distant

tribes over the Mississippi; but that the Choctaws are acting more wisely in seeking civilization.

He told me that they had an obscure story, somewhat resembling that of Jacob wrestling with an angel; and that the full-blooded Indians always separate the sinew which shrank, and that it is never seen in the venison exposed for sale: he did not know what they did with it. His elder brother, whom I afterwards met, told me that they eat it as a rarity; but I have also heard, though on less respectable authority, that they refrain from it, like the ancient Jews. A gentleman, who had lived on the Indian frontier, or in the nation, for ten or fifteen years, told me that he had often been surprised that the Indians always detached this sinew; but it had never occurred to him to inquire the reason.

My half-breed Choctaw also informed me, that there were tribes or families among the Indians, somewhat similar to the Scottish clans; such as, the Panther Family, the Bird Family, the Racoon Family, the Wolf Family. He belonged to the Racoon Family, but his children to the family of his wife; families being perpetuated in the female line—an institution originating, perhaps, in polygamy. By marriage,

the husband is considered as, in some degree, adopted into the family of his wife; and the mother's brothers are regarded as, in some respects, entitled to more influence over the children than their own father. The suitor always consults them (sending them the usual propitiatory offering of a blanket) when he wishes to marry their niece; and if they approve, the father consents as a matter of course. I have since had this confirmed by information from many different sources.

Those of the same family or clan are not allowed to intermarry; although no relationship, however remote, can be traced between

'A man who wants a wife, never applies in person; he sends his sister, mother, or some other female, to the female relations of the woman he names. They consult the brothers and uncles on the maternal side, and sometimes the father; but this is only a compliment, as his approbation or opposition is of no avail. If the party applied to, approve of the match, they answer accordingly to the woman who makes the application. The bridegroom then gets together a blanket, and such other articles of clothing as he is able to spare, sometimes a horse, and sends them by the woman to the females of the family bride. If they accept of them, the match is made, and the man may go to the house as soon as he chooses; and when he has built a house, made his crop and gathered it in, made his hunt, and brought home the meat, and put all this in the possession of his wife, the ceremony ends; they are married; or, as they express it, 'the woman is bound.'"—*Johnston's Account of the Indian Tribes of Ohio.*

them; and although the ancestors of the two parties may have been living, for centuries, in different and distant nations. A marriage between a brother and a sister would not excite a stronger sensation, or be more loudly condemned.* Indeed, wherever any of the family or clan meet, they recognise one another as brothers and sisters; and use one another's houses, though personally strangers, without reserve.

With respect to the religious belief of the Choctaws, he said that it is a prevailing opinion among them that there is a Great Spirit, who made the earth, and placed them on it, and who preserves them in their hunting journies, and gives them their "luck in life;" that, however, they do not often think of Him; that they believe all who die, go to the Spirit Country: but that some suppose it is divided into two nations; the one abounding in fine woods, and deer, and buffaloes; and the other destitute of both: that these imagine, that when the spirit of bad men leaves the body, it proceeds on the same road as that of good men, till the road

* "Though the paternal indulgence of the Roman pontiffs makes the first and second degrees of relationship alone a bar to the marriage of the Indians, yet the Abipones, instructed by nature and the example of their ancestors, abhor the very thought of marrying any one related to them by the most distant tie of relationship."—*Dobrizhoffer.*

forks, when it takes the way to the bad country, supposing it to be the other; that many expect a great day, when the world will be burnt and made over again, far pleasanter than it is now, when the spirits will return from the spirit country, and settle again upon it; and that near the place where they were buried, will be their future home. He here pointed to a sermon-book which he received from his white father, (for he can read,) and said the following sentence conveyed the opinion of many Indians: "Wheresoever the body is laid till the resur-"rection, thither, as to a dwelling-house, death "brings us home;" or, as an Indian would express himself, "the Great Fire brings us home."

On Sunday evening, two poor Indian hunters came in, with no covering but a little blanket round their loins. Our host immediately lighted his pipe, gave two or three puffs, and passed it to his Indian guests, who did the same; when it was laid down again. Their tomahawks were so made as to serve as pipes; the back of the hatchet-head having a little socket attached to it, and the handle being bored. As soon as the strangers heard that I was "a British," they seemed much pleased; and indirectly confirmed what I had previously heard, both in the Creek and Choctaw nations, of the lingering

attachment of many of the Indians to their ancient allies.

Before the hunters arrived, my host had been speaking on the subject; and said that the older Indians had frequently inquired of him, where their white people were gone; that they had fine times formerly, when their white people were among them, who used to give them handsome presents for nothing; but they disappeared suddenly, and nobody had ever seen them since; "however, may-be they'll come "again." He said that many large districts had suffered severely, especially during the late war, for refusing to fight against the British; and some individuals had been put to death, even by their own nation, after it had gone over to the Americans.

Our hunters mentioned two old kings, who were still living, whose lives had been attempted for their unshaken fidelity to the English;—a fidelity which induced them to decline any commission under the American Government; declaring that they would rather die in their huts, than separate themselves from their old friends, though they might never see any of them again. They have, in consequence, been stripped of their rank, and reduced to poverty. One of them walked to New Orleans, when he heard

that the British were approaching, in order to throw himself into their camp; though, one person, he said, could not "do much good." He reached Lake Pont-Chartrain just after the battle, and returned home much disappointed. My heart warmed at the recital; and if I might have consulted my inclinations, my course, the next morning, would have been to their dwellings, 100 or 150 miles distant. All I could do was to send them a little tobacco, which I had brought with me to conciliate the Indians; with some messages, which the hunters said would delight them as much as if they expected to see me after four sleeps (nights.)

I told them of the death of King George; who, among the Choctaws, is often spoken of with a degree of respect that must gratify a British heart; although enlightened humanity forbids us to wish that they should cherish their former feelings, under circumstances which must render them productive only of disappointment.

The hunters, who conversed with us through the medium of our half-breed host, remained till late; an Indian never thinking of leaving any thing that he is interested in, merely because it is night, as they have no fixed engagements to prevent them sleeping wherever they please.

I was much struck with the attention with which they listened to each other's long narrations, occasionally signifying their assent by a long suspended intonation, somewhat like the sound produced by a humming top, or spinning-wheel, at its greatest velocity, but scrupulously avoiding interrupting the speaker till he had finished.* We endeavoured to obtain one of our Indian visitors for a guide the next morning, as our track was a lonely one; but he had hurt his foot, and said he perhaps should be unable to reach the end of the journey, and that an Indian never liked to undertake what he could not accomplish.†

* "In their assemblies, the Abipones maintain the utmost politeness. One scarcely dares interrupt another, when he is speaking; whilst one man relates some event of war, perhaps for half an hour together, all the rest, not only listen attentively, but assent at every sentence, making a loud snort as a sign of affirmation."—*Dobrizhoffer.*

† Dr. Dwight observes, "Indians travel with a facility, a celerity, and a freedom from fatigue, unknown to the people of Europe. Their couriers, or runners, are said to go at the rate of one hundred miles in a day. Two Choctaws followed my oldest brother from the Natchez Settlement, five hundred miles, to steal from him two valuable horses, which they accomplished. When I asked him how they could be willing to take so much trouble for such an object, he observed, that they had no other business, and that roving was their favourite employment."

We accordingly set out alone, very early, as there was not a habitation of any kind for the distance of fifty miles; which we were, therefore to complete in the day, or lie in the woods; and as the day was wet, we preferred the former. We might, perhaps, have felt some apprehension also of wild beasts in such unfrequented scenes; since, although we were informed that wolves, unless nearly famished, are, as our host expressed it, scared by the scent of a "human," a hungry panther is sometimes not intimidated even by a fire. The danger, however, of being molested, is extremely small.

Our course, the whole day, was along an Indian path, about fifteen or twenty inches broad, through woods which protected us from the hot sun, when it gleamed between the showers. It was twice crossed by hunter's paths, a little narrower than itself; and we were admonished, that if we deviated into these, we should perhaps come to no habitation for 100 or 150 miles. Cow-paths, which had occasionally misled us, particularly in the swamps, are found only near the settlements; or it would have been unwise to venture without a guide.

Our path, for a considerable distance, carried us *across* a succession of ridges, of considerable elevation, whose steep sides fatigued our horses

greatly. Their labour was much increased also, by the fallen trees, which, during our course through the woods, so frequently crossed the path at little intervals, and by the gullies, with their swollen currents, and beds of moving sand which we generally found at the bottoms. Into these gullies we were sometimes obliged to force our horses, by dismounting and pushing them off the bank, one of us previously crossing on raft-wood, or on trees which the Indians had felled, so as to fall across, and form a simple, but often difficult passage. The creeks were so frequently flooded, that we seldom failed to find one of these primitive bridges a few hundred yards from the path. As their channels are rather deep than wide, a lofty tulip tree is frequently of sufficient length to fall across them. The bottoms of the creeks, in this part of the country, were often rendered dangerous to our horses by cypress knees, as they are called, or ligneous substances, of a conical shape, eighteen or twenty inches high, which rise out of the ground, at a considerable distance from the neighbouring cypress trees, and which, when covered with water, may ruin a horse, in spite of every precaution.

We arrived safe at the end of our journey about sunset; having seen only two Indian

hunters, and two wolves, or panthers, in the course of the day. They were much larger than the wolves we have seen in the exhibitions in England; and the Indian hunters, from our description, pronounced them *panthers*. They were of a tawny colour. Rising in the brushwood, about 60 yards from us, they made towards an adjoining swamp, leaving us well pleased with the direction which they had taken.

Our host, that night, was the elder brother of our half-breed, and kept a stand on the Kentucky trace, which we here regained. The shade before the house, (for in this part of the country, every tolerable house or cabin has a long projecting shade on the east and west, in which the family generally sit, according to the situation of the sun,) was hung with saddles and bridles, side-saddles with smart scarlet housings, rifles, shot-pouches, powder-horns, and deer, buffalo, and bear-skins. Several dogs were lying about, and a herd of cattle was coming up to be milked. Near the house were some cabins for the negroes, whom we saw working in the Indian corn-fields, at a little distance.

We were now in the Chickasaw nation; but this description is applicable to the better houses of most of the richer half-breeds, both among

the Choctaws and Chickasaws. Our host was wealthy; and within about 60 miles from this farm, and within the Choctaw line, he had a cow-pen, with several hundred head of cattle. He was mild and dignified in his manner, very friendly, but spoke little English.

We slept on the kitchen-floor, but could not obtain even bear-skins; our host's niece, with her husband and family, having come to her uncle's to be nursed, as is very common we were told. When we went in, she was sitting up, drest, on the only bed in the kitchen; and looked very melancholy, with her eyes fixed on the ground. When a female friend came in, and sat by her, however, she was merry enough, and laughed heartily, perhaps at our expense. I believe, however, this would be an unjust supposition, as there is great propriety of manners among the Indian women. The females, indeed, are distant; but I believe it is not the custom for them to converse even with Indian strangers, till some time after they have met.

One of our horses being so violently ill with the colic (here a very frequent and dangerous disease) as to awaken us all with his doleful groaning in the night, we set off late the following day, and rode slowly about 26 miles. We had intended to reach the stand, about 28 miles

distant; but night came on so suddenly, (for in this latitude there is little twilight,) that we could not find our way through a dangerous swamp which intervened. We had accordingly to lie out, and could not raise a fire; though we seldom travelled unprovided with the means of obtaining a light. We fortunately had some Indian corn-bread in our saddle-bags, and found good pasturage for our horses.

As we were riding along toward sunset, we saw many parties of Chickasaws repairing to a dance and ball-play. The magnificence of their dresses exceeded any thing that we had yet seen; and the profusion of silver ornaments was far greater than among the Choctaws. Indeed, they cut a splendid figure as they galloped through the woods; and my servant regretted that we did not stay to see them, as he was sure it was going to be "a very gay "party." The women were dressing their husbands' hair along the path-side. *

* "Every morning, or whenever they rose from their hammocks, they washed themselves in the sea, or some river, and when the sun had dried them, they sat in their carbets until their wives had tied their hair, oiled it, and after dissolving some roucou in the carapat, or castor oil, they painted them with a brush, from head to foot."—*Sheldon's Account of the Caraibs.*

The Chickasaws generally appeared to us neater in their persons, than our friends the Choctaws; on whom I mean no reflection, and I am aware that our opportunities of observation were too limited, to justify any general conclusion. The Chickasaws seem, however, to expend in ornaments, the savings and annuity of which the Choctaws appropriate a large proportion to their farms or cattle. Not that the Chickasaws entirely neglect agriculture or pastoral labours; but their little patches are worse cultivated, and their herds less considerable. I was informed that they have only one chief; while the Choctaws are divided into three districts, under different chiefs.

I was told that they bury their dead in their houses. While getting a cup of coffee at Amubee's, a full-blooded Chickasaw, a little negro girl, the only person about the house who could speak English, said, "Master's wife is lying behind you." On looking round, I saw nothing but a bed; when the little girl told me to look under it. When she observed that I was disappointed on perceiving nothing, she said, "Mistress is buried there; but don't speak loud, or master will cry."

I could not learn whether this was the common mode of sepulture among the Chickasaws,

or adopted only on particular occasions, as a mark of peculiar respect or affection.—Bartram mentions, that among the Creek Indians it is common to bury the dead in their houses,* and

* Instead of interring the deceased in his house, and continuing to reside in it, (among the Abipones of Paraguay) it is common for the family to desert the house, and pull it down.

"The house which he inhabited," says Dobrizhoffer, "they pull entirely to pieces. His widow, children, and the rest of his family remove elsewhere, and had rather endure the injuries of the weather, than, contrary to the laws of their countrymen, inhabit a house that has been saddened by the death of the dear master of it. To utter the name of a lately deceased person is reckoned a nefarious offence amongst the Abipones; if, however, occasion requires that mention should be made of that person, they say, 'the man that does not now exist.' But if the name of the defunct be derived from an appellative noun, the word is abolished by proclamation, and a new one substituted. It is the prerogative of the old women to invent these new names, which are quickly promulgated among the widely-scattered hordes of the Abipones, and are so firmly imprinted on their minds, that no individual is ever heard to utter a proscribed word. All the friends and relations of the deceased change the names they formerly bore."

"The Abipones of Paraguay think it a great happiness to be buried in a wood under the shade of trees; and grieve for the fate of those that are interred in a chapel, calling them captives of the Father. In the dread of such sepulture they at first shunned baptism. They dig a very shallow pit to place the body in, that it may not be pressed by too great a weight of earth heaped over it, they fill the surface of the grave with thorny boughs, to keep off tigers, which delight in carcasses, on the top of the sepulchre, they place an inverted

in a sitting posture; and an intelligent half-breed Choctaw informed me that this was sometimes practised among themselves. The Choctaws formerly placed their dead on a pan, that if the dead man should stand in need of water, he may not want a vessel to hold it in. They hang a garment from a tree, near the place of interment, for him to put on, if he chooses to come out of the grave. They also fix a spear near the graves of men, that an instrument of war and the chase may be in readiness for them. For the same purpose, beside the graves of their caciques, and men distinguished for military fame, they place horses, slain with many ceremonies, a custom common to most of the equestrian savages in Paraguay. The best horses, those which the deceased used and delighted in most, are generally slain at the grave.

"The Abipones are not content with any sepulchre, but take especial care that fathers may lie with their sons, wives with their husbands, grand-children with their grand-fathers, and great-grand-fathers; and that every family should have its burying-place. This nation having formerly inhabited more towards the north, know that their ancestors' monuments exist there, and venerate them as something divine. They feel the most lively pleasure in mingling the bones of their countrymen, wherever, amidst their perpetual peregrinations, they may have been buried, with the bones of their ancestors. Hence it is, that they dig them up, and remove them so often, and carry them over immense tracts of land, till at length they repose in the ancient and woody mausoleum of their forefathers; which they distinguish by certain marks, cut in the trees, and by other signs taught them by their ancestors. The Brazilians and Guaranies formerly disliked the trouble of digging pits for sepulchres. These hungry anthropophagi buried within their own bowels the flesh of those that yielded to fate. It must be confessed, however,

scaffold, in a large chamber, called the House of Bones, a particular portion of which was reserved for each particular family, as the Racoon Family, or the Panther Family.

that the Guaranies of after-times, more humane than their ancestors, placed dead bodies in clay pitchers. Seeking the savages in Albaevera, in the midst of the woods, I met with a plain artificially made, the trees being cut down for the purpose, and there I found three pitchers of this kind, each of which would contain a man, but all empty. The bottoms of the pitchers were placed toward the sky, the mouths towards the ground."—*History of the Abipones.*

Among the Minitaries, on the Missouri, Bradbury found the dead deposited on separate scaffolds. He thus describes one of these stages:—

"In my way to the fort I passed through a small wood, where I discovered a stage, constructed betwixt four trees, standing very near each other, and to which the stage was attached, about ten feet from the ground. On this stage was laid the body of an Indian, wrapped in a buffalo robe. As the stage was very narrow, I could see all that was upon it, without much trouble. It was the body of a man, and beside it there lay a bow and quiver, with arrows, a tomahawk, and a scalping knife. There were a great number of stages erected, about a quarter of a mile from the village on which the dead bodies were deposited, which, for fear of giving offence, I avoided, as I found that, although it is the custom of these people thus to expose the dead bodies of their ancestors, yet they have, in a very high degree, that veneration for their remains, which is a characteristic of the American Indians."

"When a Caraib died," says Sheldon, "he was immediately painted all over with roucou, and had his mustachios and the black streaks in his face made with a black paint, which was different from that used in their life-time. A kind of grave

Whenever they changed their residence, expelled by victorious tribes, or induced by the growing scarcity of deer, or buffalo, to dive deeper into the forests for subsistence, they carried the bones of their fathers along with them.

was then dug in the carbet where he died, about four feet square, and six or seven feet deep. The body was let down in it, when sand was thrown in, which reached to the knees, and the body was placed on it, in a sitting posture, resembling that in which they crouched round the fire, or the table, when alive, with the elbows on the knees, and the palms of the hands against the cheeks."—*Account of the Caraibs.*

Letter XV.

Foot of the Cumberland Mountain, Tennessee,
30th May, 1820.

My letter of yesterday brought down our journal to the 24th. We set off early on the 25th; and breakfasted at an Indian's, whose cabin has acquired the title of "the Clean House;" a distinction well deserved, and indicative of no common merit in the Indian Nation.

Soon after breakfast, we crossed a swamp, which had been held up *in terrorem* before us for some days; and took the precaution of passing it in company with some gentlemen whom we overtook, and who were acquainted with its intricacies. Our prudence, however, was unnecessary; as the dry weather had rendered it far less difficult and troublesome, than several which we had previously crossed alone. In winter, it must be almost impassable; and one of our companions assured us, that he had had to swim over many parts of it, and in others to plunge up to the saddle-skirts in mire at every step. The bottom is a stiff clay; and horses sometimes stick so

fast that they cannot be extricated, but are left to die.

Although the weather for some days had been remarkably dry, we had frequently to dismount several times in an hour, to drive our horses through creeks and streams, which would have embarrassed a Leicestershire fox hunter. One of my companions told me, that when travelling the route last spring, he had to swim his horse seven times in the course of a mile, and as frequently to unload the pack-horse which carried his provisions. We were more fortunate, and our journey was attended with little difficulty or fatigue.

In the course of this day's ride, we crossed the last waters which fall into the Tombigbee; and some little streams, which, taking an opposite direction, empty themselves into the Tennessee. We also passed, though still in the Indian Nation, the boundary line between Mississippi and Alabama. The country became more hilly; and we were glad to exchange our muddy streams for clear pebbly brooks.

At night, we slept in the woods; and in the morning, crossed Bear Creek, a beautiful romantic river. A few miles further, we came to the summit of a hill, from which we had an extensive view of the country below us. The

surface was broken into lofty ridges, among which a river wound its course; and the mass of forest which lay between us and a very distant horizon, exhibited no trace of animated existence, but a solitary cabin, and one patch of Indian corn. The view of this boundless solitude was naturally a sombre one; but to us, emerging into light from the recesses of thick woods, in which for many days, our eyes had seldom been able to range beyond a narrow circle of a few hundred yards, it imparted sensations of cheerfulness which it would be difficult to describe. Not that we were tired of the wilderness. The fragrance of the woods, which enveloped us in a cool shade, and the melody of their warbling tenants, regaled the senses with a perpetual feast; while the gambols of the squirrels, the cooing of the doves, the variety of large snakes which often crossed our path, birds with the richest plumage, and, above all, the magnificent forest-trees which here attain their largest growth—presented an unfailing succession of objects to interest and amuse us. The delicious climate also of the state of Mississippi gave to the morning and evening hours an ethereal charm, which those who have a lively perception of

nature's charms will understand: to others no description would convey any definite ideas:—

" They know not how the deep'ning trees,
" Dark glens, and shadowy rocks, can please,
" The morning blush, the smile of even;
" What trees, and lawns, and mountains mean,
" The dying gale, the breathing scene,
" The midnight calm, the whisp'ring heav'n."

Besides, there is something so soothing in the retirement of these vast solitudes, that the mind is at first unwilling to be disturbed in its reveries, and to awaken from the deep, and perhaps, unprofitable musings into which it has suffered itself to be lulled. Yet although it would shrink from the glare of a day-light, which would summon it to its ordinary cares, and would start back from a sudden introduction into the din and bustle of a jarring world, it is refreshed by looking abroad on the face of nature, and is delighted to revive its sympathies with the rational creation, of which it forms a part, by glancing on the distant confines of civilized life.

In the course of this day, a little Indian, about ten years old, gaily attired in native costume, and on an Indian poney, rode up to me. We could not understand each other; but he rode by my side for several miles, frequently striking into a narrower path than that in which we

were travelling, for the purpose of making short cuts. We did not hesitate to follow him, although our horses did not scramble out of the streams, with the agility of his poney. This poney we thought he wished to sell to us, and we would have purchased it to carry our saddle-bags and relieve our horses; but on counting him 15 dollars, a fair price, he pointed homewards, and looked grave, as if to say, he was strongly tempted, but dare not accept our offer. After riding an hour or two with us, he darted off at full gallop, leaving us unable to account for this sudden freak, until, at a distance of about half a mile, we came to a party of Indian hunters, who had killed two deer, which they were skinning and drying on little saplings, near their fire in the woods. Our little friend was seated in the middle of them, apparently quite at home, and looking with great glee on some of the venison they were roasting for immediate use. We staid five or ten minutes with them, endeavouring to find means of communicating, but in vain.

Soon after, we saw a curious rencontre between a snake and a large toad. They were in the middle of the path, and the snake had entwined itself round the toad so as almost to cut it in two. The toad lay looking at us most

piteously; and on my giving the snake two severe cuts with my whip, it glided off, when its victim, which I did not imagine could survive this embrace, crawled away with unusual alertness, apparently congratulating itself on its narrow escape.

Towards evening, we passed, not without regret, from the Chickasaw nation into the White Settlements, and reached the Big Spring, a little village of log-cabins, on a beautiful clear stream. Here we cut the military road from New Orleans to Nashville, and ought to have remained all night, but were anxious to make our 40 miles, by proceeding six miles further on a new road, to a house, where we were told travellers were received.

When we arrived there, however, after dark, we found we had been misinformed, as it was the residence of rather a genteel family, and there seemed to be a party there. The gentleman said something about house-room; but not repeating it, or pressing us, I determined to proceed two miles farther, where he stated they did take in travellers. After some difficulty we found the house; but the owners said we had been misinformed: indeed, he had only one room for his family and guests, male and female. I begged him to sell us some corn for our

horses, and bread for ourselves, as we had not eaten since breakfast, and said we would then lie in the woods, as it was nearly eleven o'clock. He, however, gave us nothing more substantial than civil words, but assured us that a little farther on we should come to Col. ——'s, who received travellers regularly. I told him we began to be a little incredulous; but as there was no alternative, with horses tired, and at least as much disappointed as ourselves, we proceeded, not in the best humour, to the Colonel's, who was preparing to retire to bed. He said he did not receive travellers, except when, like ourselves, they were without resource; that four had just arrived, in a similar situation; that he could not give us beds, but would cheerfully do the best he could. He then ordered us an excellent supper, had his carriage horses turned out to give us stable room, and would have contrived to provide us a lodging; but I could not think of intruding on him, and insisted on lying out as we had done the two preceding nights. His servant made us a large fire under a tree, and we slept very soundly. His charge was moderate; and you will, perhaps, be surprised that he made any charge at all; but in these newly settled countries, it is the custom for almost every

family to receive travellers, and to accept a remuneration; this being, in many cases, the only way of disposing of the surplus of their Indian corn. The few families, however, on this road, seemed not to like the plan, and to be afraid of making a beginning, lest they should be overrun, and our Colonel shared in these feelings, though he was too warm-hearted to turn a stranger from his doors at night. In the state of Mississippi, towards Natchez, strangers are received generally free of expense; but this custom, of which we have heard so much, is disappearing fast, and is, in fact, congenial only with a particular stage of society. Where houses are thinly scattered, and there is too little travelling to afford encouragement to an inn, strangers may be taken in either with or without charge; but the latter may frequently be incompatible with the circumstances, though agreeable to the wishes of the owner. In this situation persons are obliged to keep houses of entertainment in self-defence, however much the practice may infringe on their family comfort; and a habit is thus acquired of expecting admission into private houses, even when necessity can be no longer pleaded. There is something pleasing enough in the reflection, that every house on the road is open to you as your

home; but on the other hand, it is neither agreeable nor desirable for families to feel that their retirement may be broken in upon at any hour, by any noisy fellows who happen to be passing by. Judge ——, who lives near Point Coupée, told us that he has adopted an excellent plan: he has had an inn opened near his house, since the road has been more generally travelled, and he sends his servants there with all strangers who beat up his quarters, with orders to defray the expenses of those who are evidently not in a situation to do it for themselves.

We breakfasted the following morning at the house of a very respectable couple, who had removed from Virginia. We were now in lands lately ceded by the Indians, and sold, I think, only in February, 1818. They have been settled less than two years: yet, within a few miles of the house, there were no less than five schools, and four places of worship. In the course of the day we crossed the Tennessee river, just above the shoals: it was half a mile broad, overhung with beautiful trees, and studded with wooded islands. Where it expanded toward the shoals, it reminded me very much of our Cumberland lakes. Steam-boats come up from New Orleans to the shoals. We took up our abode for the night a few miles on the other

side, at a prosperous looking farm, which, a year and a half since, was a wilderness. The owner is an intelligent active man, from Virginia, and keeps a carriage. Near the house, he had a field of 110 acres in Indian corn, and another of 100 in cotton; he cut down the first trees in January, 1819, and last year had a small crop of cotton and Indian corn. The cotton is now generally four or five inches above the ground, the Indian corn from one to two feet. The husbandry of both would generally do credit to our first-rate farmers; and the Indian corn is the most beautiful crop, by much, I ever saw. In travelling through this country, I am much surprised at the rapidity with which the new lands have been brought into cultivation. The fields are generally from 80 to 120 acres in extent, cleared of a fair proportion of their timber, and the remainder girdled. The land is remarkably good, sometimes producing 100 bushels of Indian corn per acre, though 50, in some states, is a large crop. Our host told me, that he has only to cultivate half the quantity of land for his family supply of Indian corn, which he required in Virginia; and it grows so much more rapidly in its early stages, that it renders far less labour necessary. Money is extremely scarce throughout the country, and

can scarcely be raised at all. Lands, which sold at the public sales at 30 dollars per acre, would not now bring 15 in many instances; and many purchasers are abandoning the idea of paying the second instalment, satisfied that they shall save money, by forfeiting the one-twentieth earnest, and the first instalment of one-fourth, and buying their own or other forfeited lands at public sales. Great exertions are making to induce Government to remit part of the price.

Nothing can appear more delightful and independent than the situation of those who are comfortably settled on their new lands. Surrounded by beautiful woods, and cultivating the richest soils, they raise almost every thing they want with little labour. Many make their own cotton and woollen clothes, from cotton grown, and sheep reared by themselves, and manufacture their own soap, candles, and sugar. They also raise large quantities of sheep, pigs, and cattle, in the woods, with no other trouble than putting a bell round their neck, and occasionally visiting them. Those who want to make money, and command comforts and luxuries of distant or foreign production, must have recourse to slavery and cotton planting.

On the 27th, we proceeded on our route, at half-past four in the morning, passing through

Athens, a *town* of twenty or thirty log-cabins, to Cambridge, a *village* of four or five, where we breakfasted. Our host was from South Carolina. He said there were several ministers and a school in the neighbourhood: that at a camp-meeting of seceders from the Methodists a week before, 4000 people were collected. We passed, in the afternoon, through Huntsville, a small town, full of stores, or shops. It is finely situated near the foot of the spurs of the Cumberland mountain. We then proceeded to a comfortable inn, commanding a delightful view. Here I had proposed to spend Sunday; but found our landlord such a sporting character, and was told the house was such a Sunday lounge, that I determined to proceed to one of a different stamp. While resting our horses, we saw a Negro boy, of ten years old, nearly killed in a fall from one of his master's race-horses, which he was training, in company with another, ridden by one of his companions. It is very common to have private courses, and racers of the English breed. Our host of the preceding night was training three.

We set off again by moonlight, and reached our resting-place about midnight, after the family were gone to bed. It was a respectable family, and a quiet house; but there was no

regular service, except on three Sundays out of four, and this was the fourth. I found there was a school in the neighbourhood; indeed, this district has been settled ten years.

We were now in the high road from Huntsville to Knoxville, which is really a *road*, the Kentucky Trace being little more than a broad grass path. We left our hosts on the 29th, and in a few miles crossed into Tennessee.

At night we reached this place, at the foot of the Cumberland mountain, taking rather a shorter road to Knoxville by a horse-path which leads us past Brainerd, the other Missionary settlement among the Cherokees. We were detained this morning by rain, which is falling on my paper as I am writing under the shade of a miserable cabin. The Cumberland mountain, thus far, really resembles some of the more tame of our Cumberland moors, except that it is covered with wood.

Letter XVI.

Near Knoxville, Tennessee, 5th June, 1820.

We began to ascend the Cumberland mountain on the 30th ult. about noon. After riding and walking for two miles up a steep rocky path, we reached the summit, and travelled on a level road for nearly 16 miles, when we descended very precipitously into the valley on the other side. The trees which overhung the road, afforded us a tolerable protection from the rain which was falling at the time; but they also contracted the prospect, and prevented our seeing, except at intervals, the clouds which were rolling beautifully along the distant hills. Our ride was nevertheless rendered very agreeable by the fragrance of the woods, the freshness of the dripping leaves, and the sound of the mountain torrents falling into the river below. At the foot of the mountain we found a solitary log-hut, where a very neat old woman, upwards of seventy years old, was busily engaged in spinning. She gave me a polite reception, and her manners and conversation would really have

surprised you. In her chimney-corner was a young clergyman from New York, who had been visiting Brainerd, and whose offers to conduct family worship were thankfully accepted by our hostess and her son. This young divine was making a long tour through the wilder parts of America to *harden* himself, as our hostess said, before he took the charge of a regular congregation. We set off the next morning soon after four o'clock, and after crossing the Sequotchy and Tennessee rivers, entered the Cherokee nation, in the State of Georgia. We breakfasted at the house of a very intelligent farmer, whose wife was a half-breed Cherokee, and whose children were well-behaved, and better educated than those of many of our respectable farmers. On his book-shelves I observed Robertson's America, the Spectator, and several periodical publications; a Bible, hymn-book, and other religious works. In the afternoon we crossed the Racoon and Look-out mountain; and for the first time I came to an open quarrel with my favourite woods, which prevented me from getting one tolerable view of the most magnificent scenery we have met with since our arrival in America. I was delighted, however, to find myself once

more in the midst of mountains, and would have ascended to the summit of the Look-out mountain by day-break the following morning, if the weather had not rendered it almost impracticable. We slept at the foot of it, at the house of a Highlander, who married a Cherokee about thirty years since, and who lives very much like a gentleman. Here we found a good library, maps, and American and English newspapers—the latter were most acceptable. The daughters who drank tea and breakfasted with us, were pleasing well-behaved girls, who had been educated at distant boarding-schools; the father, from his manners and information, might have been living the last twenty years in England or Scotland, instead of among the Cherokees. Here I met a young invalid from Ohio, going to the south for his health. He had been detained some days by the rain, which kept us till after breakfast, contrary to our usual custom. We then proceeded through the woods to Brainerd, six miles distant; where we stopped during the remainder of the day, the rain falling in torrents.

The proceedings here were so similar to those at Elliot, that it is unnecessary to describe them. Indeed, this Institution was originally

formed by some of the Missionaries, who afterward went on to establish the settlement at Elliot.

The number of Cherokee children amounted to about 80; and, in addition to these, were two little Osage Indians, who had been rescued from captivity by benevolent interference. One of them was a little girl, whose owner, at the time she was found, was carrying the scalps of her father and mother. He was induced to part with her for about thirty pounds, generously advanced for her ransom by a lady at New Orleans. Her simple tale of sufferings was a long and melancholy one, and the little boy's constitution was nearly broken by ill usage.

I was informed here, that many of the Indians evinced, at first, an indisposition to labour in the field, especially as the females were entirely exempted from the task: but they soon acquiesced; and exhibited, on this occasion, the docility and good humour, of which their teachers (perhaps with excusable partiality,) represent them as possessing a more than common share. One of the chiefs offered to find a slave who should work all day, if the Missionaries would excuse his son from agricultural

labour between school-hours; but he was easily convinced of his mistake, and apologised for his ill-judged request.

I was much gratified by hearing the children sing their Cherokee hymns: and many ancient prophecies came forcibly to my recollection, when joining with my English servant in this Indian country, with Americans, Indians, and Africans, in singing the following verse of one of our hymns—

> "Let every nation, every tribe,
> "On this terrestrial ball,
> "To Him full majesty ascribe,
> "And crown Him Lord of all."

The following prophecy will ever be most especially associated with my recollections of this scene:—

"For from the rising of the sun, even unto "the going down of the same, my name shall "be great among the Gentiles; and in every "place incense shall be offered unto my name, "and a pure offering: for my name shall be "great among the heathen, saith the Lord of "hosts."

Some Negroes attended family prayer; and many come from a considerable distance to public worship, on Sunday. I was told, indeed,

that there were instances of their walking 20 miles over the mountains, and returning the same day.

What animation would an occasional glance at Elliot or Brainerd infuse into our Missionary committees! and how cheering to many a humble collector would be the sight of her Indian sisters, rescued from their degraded condition, and instructed in the school of Christ! Exposed as her humble efforts often are, to ridicule or contempt, what a dignity do they assume, when contemplated in actual and close connection with their end; when *seen* to afford, as they really do, a participation, which it may be the privilege of the most retired individual to enjoy, in the most interesting transactions of the age in which she lives, and in the most momentous concerns of the system with which she is connected, in the fulfilment of ancient prophecy, the general diffusion of the Scriptures, the abolition of idolatry, the moral renovation of the globe. What, though we are but the hewers of wood or drawers of water for our more honoured and enterprising brethren, our humble labours, feeble and desultory as they are, and ever attended with imperfections, by which their efficiency is much impaired, are still a link in the chain of human

agency, by which God is pleased to accomplish his purposes of mercy to the human race.

With respect to the success of the efforts of the Missionaries in reference to the spiritual interests of their heathen brethren, I will merely observe, that they do not expect the harvest, when only beginning to break up the soil. They are aware, also, that on a subject on which their hopes and fears are so sensibly alive, they are in danger of being misled by very equivocal symptoms: and even where they believe that they discern the fairest promise, they shrink from the idea of blazoning forth to the world, as decisive evidence of genuine piety, every indication of an awakened attention to religious truth. Still, however, even in this respect, and at this early stage of their exertions, they have the gratification of believing that their labour has not been in vain.

We left Brainerd early on the 2nd June, and at the distance of seven miles passed the boundary of the Cherokee nation, by crossing the Tennessee river for the third time. It appears here to be nearly 1000 yards wide, and is very beautiful.

I now bade a last adieu to Indian territory; and as I pursued my solitary ride through the woods, I insensibly fell into a train of

melancholy reflections on the eventful history of this injured race.

Sovereigns, from time immemorial, of the interminable forests which overshadow this vast continent, they have gradually been driven, by the white usurpers of their soil, within the limits of their present precarious possessions. One after another of their favourite rivers has been reluctantly abandoned, until the range of the hunter is bounded by lines prescribed by his invader, and the independence of the warrior is no more. Even their present territory is partitioned out in reversion, and intersected with the prospective boundaries of surrounding states, which appear in the maps, as if Indian title were actually extinguished, and these ancient warriors were already driven from the land of their fathers.

Of the innumerable tribes which, a few centuries since, roamed fearless and independent, in their native forests, how many have been swept into oblivion, and are with the generations before the flood! Of others, not a trace remains but in tradition, or in the person of some solitary wanderer, the last of his tribe, who hovers like a ghost among the sepulchres of his fathers —a spark still faintly glimmering in the ashes of an extinguished race.

It is not only the Oneida warrior who may lament his destiny in mournful verse,—

" Or, shall we cross yon mountains blue,
" Whose streams my kindred nation quaffed;
" And by my side, in battle true,
" A thousand warriors drew the shaft.
" Ah! there in desolation cold!
" The desert serpent dwells alone,
" Where grass o'ergrows each mouldering bone,
" And stones themselves to ruin grown,
" Like me, are deathlike old.
" Then seek we not their camp—for there
" The silence dwells of my despair!—

From this gloomy review of the past history of these injured tribes, it was refreshing to turn to their future prospects; and to contemplate those Missionary labours, which, under the blessing of God, are arresting the progress of that silent waste, by which they were fading rapidly from the map of nations. Partial success, indeed, had followed the occasional efforts of the American Government for the civilization of the Indians; but it was reserved for the perseverance of disinterested Christian love, to prove, to the world at large, the practicability of an undertaking which had often been abandoned in despair.

Moral obstacles, which had bid defiance to worldly policy or interested enterprise, are yield-

ing to a simple confidence in the promises of God, and a faithful compliance with the divine commands—"Go ye into all the world, and preach "the gospel to every creature." Christians, of different denominations, are sending labourers to the task; and it is animating indeed, to contemplate the United States—in the name, as it were, and as the representative of the various nations who have participated in the wrongs inflicted on this injured race—preparing to offer the noblest compensation in their power, and to diffuse the gospel throughout the aborigines of this western world.*

And, surely, if any arguments were necessary in support of missions, in addition to those

* I call them aborigines, but this term is often used with doubtful propriety. "History, in carrying us back to the earliest epochas, instructs us, that almost every part of the globe is occupied by men who think themselves aborigines, because they are ignorant of their original. Among a multitude of nations, who have succeeded, or have been incorporated with each other, it is impossible to discover, with precision, the first basis of population, that primitive stratum, beyond which the region of tradition begins.

"Amidst the extensive plains of Upper Canada, in Florida, and in the deserts bordered by the Orinoco, the Cassiquiare, and the Guiana, dykes of a considerable length, weapons of brass, and sculptured stones, are indications that those very countries were formerly inhabited by industrious nations, which are now traversed only by tribes of savage hunters."—*Humboldt.*

derived from the force of divine commands, and the suggestions of diffusive charity, we should find them in the history of the early intercourse of Christian Europe with Asia, Africa, and America. Or, if viewing the wide range and growing energies of British missions, a deep sense of our defective efforts should at any time be insufficient to repress every feeling of self-complacence, we have but to recollect how large a portion of the labours of our Missionaries has hitherto been consumed, in eradicating the vicious habits which we have introduced into some heathen nations, or in dispelling the prejudices which our inconsistent conduct has diffused through others.

It is not in our naval, our military, or our commercial character, that we have as yet appeared generally as a blessing to benighted nations. It is not when we press into the wars of Christians, the tomahawk or scalping knife of the Indian; it is not when, deluging his country with spirituous liquors, in the prosecution of an unequal traffic, we send forth a moral pestilence, before which the frail virtues of the savage fall, like the dry leaves of his forests in the blasts of autumn; it is not when thus engaged, that we either conciliate his affections, or elevate his moral tone. The men who ferti-

lize the moral wilderness, and evangelize the heathen world, are animated by a higher spirit than the desire of conquest, or the love of gain —by the spirit of our Marsdens, our Careys, our Buchanans, and our Henry Martyns. These are the men who, at once the benefactors of their species, and the representatives of Christian Britain, secure for their native country the veneration of far distant tribes, while preaching on their mountains the glad tidings of salvation, or filling their vallies with hymns of praise.

The time, I hope, will come, when not our Missionaries only, but our naval and military commanders, our soldiers, our sailors, and our merchants, will all carry with them to every country where they hoist the British flag, unequivocal demonstrations that they are from a Christian land; and it is animating, indeed, to regard our colonial establishments, our extended commerce, and our vast marine, as instruments in the hands of Providence, to open paths for those who are destined to extend the glad tidings of salvation to the darkest and remotest regions of the habitable globe.

'In this cause, it is scarcely possible to be neutral. The question of missions is now brought home to every breast; and the influence of individual opinion on the social and

domestic circle, carries into the most retired situations, even of female life, an awful responsibility, as to the decisions which may be formed, and the sentiments which may be expressed, on a subject so deeply affecting the highest interests of the human life.

We rode 30 miles without stopping, and then took a cup of coffee at the habitation of a pleasant family; where I saw on the bookshelves, Young's Night Thoughts, Newton's and Wesley's Sermons, &c. There is no school in the neighbourhood; but the children are sent to a boarding-school, eight miles distant. One of the daughters made coffee for me; the wife or daughter undertaking the office wherever we go. You would be surprised at the respectable manners and appearance of those we meet with in this capacity, even in the log-cabins. We proceeded 16 miles farther, to *Squire* David's, to sleep, and lay in the same room where the whole family, of six or seven, cooked, supped, and slept. If I had not been unwilling to hurt their feelings, I would have made a fire and slept under a tree; a plan we should generally have adopted, if it had not been necessary to obtain stable room for our horses. I often envy my servant, when he sleeps in the hay-loft. The following morning, we

breakfasted at a comfortable inn by the road side, where I found, among other books, Homer, Ovid, Virgil, Cicero, Dugald Stewart, Adam Smith, Ferguson's Astronomy, Rees's Encyclopedia, &c. They belonged to the son of the landlord, and detained us an hour or two longer than usual. It was delightful to meet our old friend, Dugald Stewart, in such a place. We rode the whole day along a beautiful valley, between the Cumberland mountain and the Tennessee river; and at night stopped at a retired house, where our host and hostess soon afterwards arrived from meeting; it being the quarterly meeting of Presbyterian ministers, who preach for several successive days. The following day, Sunday, I went to Kingston (four miles) to church; where I found the congregation adjourned into the woods, the numbers being too great to be otherwise accommodated. It was a sacramental occasion, and long tables were spread under the trees; the people flocking for miles in every direction, as in Scotland. This spectacle, so impressive in an American forest, was rendered still more interesting by the surrounding scenery, which was beautiful. Immediately below the wood there was a wide expanse of water, the confluence of the Holstein and the

Clinch rivers, where they unite to form the Tennessee; and at a distance was a chain of mountains, strongly resembling the chain which comprises Coniston Fells and Langdale Pikes; while the surface of the ground, sometimes gently undulating, and sometimes broken into narrow, lofty, and precipitous ridges, was almost every where covered with stately trees, of a gigantic stature.

Letter XVII.

Richmond, 20th June, 1820.

I ARRIVED here yesterday, and have ever since been revelling amidst the mass of letters which had accumulated for so many weeks; although it is always with great solicitude that I begin to open my letters, after being long deprived of intelligence from home. My friends have been extremely considerate in securing my hearing as often as is compatible with the contingencies of a wandering life; but my distance from the coast has, in some degree, defeated their kind intentions. I can hardly believe that it is only four months since I left Richmond; for perpetual change of scene and society have given to the intervening period an apparent extension, far beyond its real limits. But I must continue my narrative.—My last letter brought me to Kingston.

We set off from that place early the next morning, and reached Knoxville at night, delighted, yet almost exhausted, with the constant succession of magnificent mountain views.

At Knoxville I staid at Ray's tavern, which, being built of bricks, and divided into convenient rooms, appeared like a palace, after our late accommodations. On my arrival, I found several gentlemen sitting in the portico before the house, among whom was the resident agent of the United States among the Choctaws, who had been at Washington, and was bringing a handsome present from the Government to the Missionary settlements at Yaloo Busha. The following morning I rose early, and walked about the town, beautifully situated on the Holstein. At five o'clock, most of the shops were open, the newspapers were in the course of delivery, and every thing bore the appearance of eight or nine o'clock in a more northern town. We rode for about 17 miles, when we were compelled to halt by the heat of the day. In the evening, the fragrance of the woods and the melody of the birds were delightful; and the cool clear streams seemed to refresh our horses greatly after their toilsome journey, our detention in the morning having thrown us more into the heat of the day than usual. We now began to be more sensible than ever how much we had been indebted to the thick woods, which, till within a few days, had almost entirely protected us from the rays of the sun.

At eight o'clock we stopped at Myers's, a German, who treated us very civilly. Opposite the house they were making hay, the first we had seen cut; the smell of which transported me for a time to ——. Indeed, for several days I had been perpetually reminded of home by the general aspect of the surrounding scenery; the rich crops of wheat and barley, which, in this section of the country, had almost displaced the Indian corn; the "hum of children just let "loose from school," who often accosted us with their little bows; and a style of manners resembling that of the country people in the neighbourhood of our lakes, in all its most valuable characteristics. Some of the customs, indeed, were different, as I was still occasionally placed at the family supper-table with labourers in their shirt-sleeves; but that family, and those labourers, appeared as cordial, obliging, and accommodating, as those with whom I have ventured to compare them; in their own way, as respectful, and much more intelligent: in short, any thing, rather than what people generally mean, when they say American.

Coffee regularly forms a part of their supper; and travellers seldom take any thing between breakfast and supper here. The part of the valley where Myers lived, was called Richland

Creek, but it was losing its claim to the title, having been in cultivation forty years. Our host, a steady old German, said they lived comfortably, but had no means of raising even the little money they require for taxes, but by entertaining travellers, or sending a little flour down the Holstein to Huntsville; that the want of a commercial staple, and the difficulty of disposing of their surplus produce, rendered them generally indolent, and that it would kill them to work as they do in the north. His grandfather came from Germany, his father from Pennsylvania. He said that, eight miles distant, there were several families who had been from Holland as long as his grandfather, who still required their children to speak Dutch. There were schools in the neighbourhood, both English and Dutch, and public worship in both languages. In the morning, (the 7th,) we set off at four o'clock, and rode 17 miles, through a romantic country, to breakfast. In the afternoon, we rested two hours at a very nice house, on the banks of the Holstein, where I found a mother and three daughters from Virginia.

They were all busy sewing, and in their manners were agreeable and very respectable. I really do not know with what class in England to compare them, perhaps with some of our

more respectable shopkeepers; as well bred, but more retired. Indeed, all classes of American women are more reserved than with us, till you become acquainted with them, and generally speaking, except in the cities, permanently rather colder.

We slept at Miller's, a plain, respectable farmer; and in the morning, (8th,) rode about 18 miles to breakfast, to a little village, called Boatyard, on the Holstein. Here my servant complained of great lassitude and pain in his back. I put him to bed, and gave him a sudorific, and in the evening he got up quite well. We accordingly set off again, and rode about 14 miles, to a retired miller's. We rose early, and breakfasted seven miles within the borders of Virginia. In the afternoon, we passed through Abingdon, a small town, and slept at Mr. Freers's inn, quite a genteel private house, in appearance.

The owner had just set off to the South of France, for his health; and his nephew was conducting the house for him. On the 10th, we set off at four o'clock, and rode 17 miles to breakfast, through a country romantic and beautiful, and becoming, at every step, more like our own. In the course of the day, we crossed the head-waters of the Holstein, and towards

evening entered a tract of country almost entirely settled by Germans from Pennsylvania, forty years since.

We remained all night and the following day (Sunday) at Straw's, a German. I found him obliging and intelligent. His father purchased the estate, at the close of the revolutionary war, at one to three dollars per acre. It is becoming poor, comparatively, but would bring ten to eighteen dollars. No new settlers come into this part of the country; but any land, offered for sale, is taken up by the neighbours, who are compelled either to buy more land, or cut down their woods, or adopt a system of improvement, in order to keep up their stock, their old lands, under the improvident system of cultivation, hitherto common in Virginia, becoming every year less productive.

The mode of improvement, usually adopted, is to sow clover three successive years, and on the third turn it in, with a considerable quantity of Plaster of Paris. The improving of land, I often heard spoken of as quite a new idea in Virginia; the common plan, while the farmer had plenty of uncleared land, having been to clear it gradually, and let his old land rest, when exhausted. The expense of clearing is usually estimated at ten to fifteen dollars per

acre, and some prefer buying fresh land, when practicable; but they are evidently beginning to feel the inconveniences which drove their fathers further west; and will, probably, gradually imitate their example, in spite of their old steady German* habits.

* I cannot refrain from transcribing, from Volney, an entertaining passage on the subject of the national peculiarities of the emigrants to America. To the correctness of some of his remarks, even my limited experience enables me to subscribe; but I cannot vouch for the accuracy of the whole.

"The settler of British or German descent, is of a cold and phlegmatic temper, and deliberately forms a plan of husbandry, which he steadily pursues. He attends sedulously to every thing that can influence the success of his projects. He never becomes idle till his end is accomplished, and he has put his affairs on a good footing.

"The impetuosity of the Frenchman leads him to embrace precipitately any plausible or flattering project, and he proceeds in his career, without laboriously computing expenses and contingencies. With more genius for his portion, he laughs at the dulness and caution of his Dutch and English neighbour, whom he stigmatizes as an ox; but his neighbour will sedately and wisely reply, that the patient ox will plough much better than the mettlesome courser. And, in truth, the Frenchman's fire easily slackens, his patience is worn out, and after changing, correcting, and altering his plans, he finally abandons his project in despair.

"His neighbour is in no haste to rise in the morning, but when fairly up, he applies steadily to work. At breakfast, he gives cold and laconic orders to his wife, who obeys them without contradiction or demur. Weather permitting, he goes to plough or shop; if the weather be bad, he prosecutes his in-door tasks, looks over the contents of his

house and granary, repairs his doors or windows, drives pegs or nails, makes chairs or tables, and is always busy in making his habitation more comfortable and secure. With these habits, he is nowise averse to sell his farm for a good price, and move, even in old age, still farther into the forest, cheerfully recommencing all the labours of a new settlement.—There will he spend years in felling trees, building a hut and a barn, and in fencing and sowing his fields. His wife, as placid and patient as himself, will second all his labours, and they will sometimes pass away six months without seeing the face of a stranger. In four or five years, comfort, convenience, and ease will grow up around them, and a competence will recompense their solitary toils.

"The Frenchman, on the contrary, will be up by times, for the pleasure of viewing and talking over matters with his wife, whose counsel he demands. Their constant agreement would be quite a miracle; the wife dissents, argues, wrangles, and the husband has his own way, or gives up to her, and is irritated or disheartened. Home, perhaps, grows irksome, so he takes his gun, goes a shooting, or a journey, or to chat with a neighbour. If he stays at home, he either whiles away the hour in good-humoured talk, or he scolds and quarrels. Neighbours interchange visits; for to visit and talk is so necessary to a Frenchman, that along the frontier of Canada and Louisiana, there is nowhere a settler of that nation to be found, but within sight or reach of some other. On asking how far off the remotest settler was, I have been told, 'He is in the woods, with the bears, a league from any house, and with no body to talk to.'

"This temper is the most characteristic difference between the two nations; and the more I reflect upon this subject, the firmer is my persuasion, that the Americans, and the northern Europeans, from whom they are descended, chiefly owe their success in arts and commerce to habitual taciturnity. In silence they collect, arrange, and digest their thoughts, and have leisure to calculate the future; they acquire habits of clear thinking, both in public and domestic exigences;

and they at once see the way to their point more clearly, and pursue it more directly.

" On the contrary, the Frenchman's ideas evaporate in ceaseless chat; he exposes himself to bickering and contradiction; excites the garrulity of his wife and sisters; involves himself in quarrels with his neighbours; and finds, in the end, that his life has been squandered away without use or benefit."

Letter XVIII.

Richmond, Virginia, 20th June, 1820.

I CONCLUDED my letter this morning, because I did not wish to inflict more than two sheets upon you at once; but it did not bring me so far on my route as I intended. In speaking of East Tennessee, a delightful country, of which I have the most agreeable impressions, I forgot to say that the inhabitants are anticipating considerable advantages from improvements in the land communication between the Tennessee and the Black Warrior. They have also some prospect of the completion of two canals, which have long been projected, and appear in the maps of the United States, and which would connect the waters of the Tennessee with those of the Tombigbee and the Alabama, and afford a passage for the produce of East Tennessee to Mobile and the Gulf of Mexico. This would supply a great stimulus to industry; as Mobile at present obtains a large proportion of her flour from New Orleans, by way of Lake

Borgne and Port Chartrain,—a channel of communication rendered so expensive by a heavy tonnage duty, that flour was selling, at Mobile, when I was there, extravagantly higher than at New Orleans.

On the 12th, we set off early from the house of our German host, Straw, and rode part of the time, in heavy rain, to a good inn, where we breakfasted. We had for some days been almost insensibly ascending the Alleghany mountains; but until the 12th, we saw nothing which indicated any extraordinary elevation. On that afternoon, however, we had a very extensive, though not a particularly interesting view; and the air was so cool, that I was glad to ride in my great coat. Our mountain ride gave us an appetite before the end of our day's journey; and we stopped to take coffee at a small house on the ridge, where we were detained till it was nearly dark. The universal custom of making and baking fresh bread for you, is a sad detention to travellers, who ought never to order breakfast or tea, unless they can afford to stay two hours. About nine o'clock we arrived at the bottom of one of the little vallies, very common among the Alleghany mountains, and took up our abode for the night

at the ferry-house on the Kanawa, a large river, which falls into the Ohio. We crossed it in a ferry-boat, at half-past four o'clock the next morning, (the 13th,) and breakfasted at Major ——'s, a fine friendly old gentleman, whom I found sitting in his neat white porch, and whose respectable appearance rendered me almost ashamed to ask if he entertained travellers; although I am now pretty well accustomed to consider neither the imposing aspect of a house, nor the sounding title of its inhabitant, whether Dr. —, Colonel —, Judge —, or Preacher —, as any indication that they do not "*keep private* "*entertainment.*" The old gentleman was much interested in hearing about England, the native land of his grandfather. His wife, who made breakfast for me, was a sensible well-read gentlewoman, who would appear highly respectable in any society, incredible as this may seem, of one living in the wilds of America, within 12 miles from the summit of the Alleghany. One of the daughters, a pleasing modest girl, corresponds with Mr. Kingsbury, my Missionary friend, who had called here on his way to Brainerd, and left the "Life of Harriet Newell," which had greatly interested all the family. Soon after breakfast, we reached the top of the

Alleghany mountains, where, to our surprise, we found a turnpike-gate, the first we had seen for many months. The view was extensive, though disappointing, *as a whole*; the loss of *one* magnificent prospect, however, was far more than compensated by the succession of beautiful and interesting vallies, through which we continued to pass for several days, surrounded by ranges of lofty mountains at different distances. Soon after we began to descend, we stopped for some cold water at an attractive inn, where we found the people assiduously and cordially civil, like our honest and best kind of innkeepers at home. They offered to fetch us some iced-water if we would wait a few minutes. The long steep descent from the top of the Alleghany rendered us very sensible of the truth of an observation I had frequently heard in this country, that the land on the eastern side of the range is lower than that on the western. In the course of the day, we several times crossed the winding Roanoke, which we viewed with a sort of affection, as a distant link connecting us, in some degree, with our native home, it being the first river, discharging its waters into the Atlantic, which we had seen since we left the Oakmulgee, on our Alabama route in March. In the evening, we passed through Salem to the house of

a well-meaning awkward German, (the German houses are always recognised by their flower-gardens,) intending to sleep there; but my intentions were frustrated by little assailants, who had no mercy on a tired traveller, but drove me at midnight into the porch, where I dozed a little before day-break. I was glad to feel myself on horseback again before sunrise, (14th,) though more tired than on my arrival the preceding night. At Lock's, where we staid and breakfasted, ten miles distant, I lay down for an hour, as the country was far too beautiful to be wasted on a sleepy traveller. We were now fairly in the valley between the North mountain and the Blue ridge; the whole of which is often indiscriminately called the Valley of the Shenandoah, although the inhabitants confine the name to that part of it which is watered by the river Shenandoah, and which commences a little above Staunton. With the richness of this luxuriant valley I know you are already acquainted; and of the sublimity of its mountain scenery, it would be in vain to attempt a description. Our host and his habitation were truly English; and it required no great stretch of imagination to fancy myself near Windermere. We left Fincastle a little to our right, and proceeded to Judge ——'s,

to whom I had a letter of introduction from the Governor of the State of Mississippi. I found him without his coat, in the middle of his corn-fields, gladdening his heart and relaxing his brows, by contemplating the beneficence of nature, whose favours appeared to be liberally scattered over his farm. As soon as I delivered my letter, he led me up to a large substantial brick-house, where he insisted on ordering dinner, for the family had dined. I found him a well-read reflecting old gentleman. He was engaged in studying the history of England, at the period of the Revolution, and seemed to think we were now approaching an era at least as eventful. Thus you see the operations of our Radicals have penetrated even the tranquil valley of the Shenandoah, and awakened its more intelligent inhabitants to philosophical reflection on the destinies of our native land. The Judge was a little displeased that I would not stay all night; which I wished much to do, but found, on looking forward, that, in connexion with calling at Mr. Jefferson's at a proper hour, it would cost me an entire day.

I left his house about five o'clock, and rode for some distance, surrounded by most beautiful and magnificent scenery, the Blue Mountains with the Peaks of Otter being constantly in

sight. Towards night I crossed James's river, and soon after reached the house of Captain ——, an innkeeper;—still of the English school. He has 1500 acres of land in this rich valley, (300 of which are this year under wheat, rye, and Indian corn,) with 200 sheep, and 50 head of cattle. Yet he took off our saddle-bags, his black servant standing by, and carried them up stairs, and showed all the civility you would wish to receive from the landlord of an English inn.

In the course of my ride, I had overtaken a respectable farmer, who provoked me a little by his total insensibility to the beauty of the lovely scenes through which we were passing. In vain I exhausted my vocabulary to find a single word which could convey to him an idea of a fine view or magnificent prospect, unconnected with value. Part of our dialogue was to the following effect:—"This is really a beautiful country of yours." "Oh yes, sir; the crops are wonderful beautiful; but you should have seen them last year. I reckon there's not a more beautiful valley in America, at least for wheat; and it's considerable of a corn country." "Yes; it seems to possess a rich soil, but I was not alluding to its fertility—I meant that it was a fine country to look at;

that you had some very fine prospects."—"Oh yes, sir; I would not wish better prospects, if this weather does but hold till harvest; last year our prospects were not half as good, and we got in abundance." "I see, my friend, we do not understand one another yet; I meant it was a handsome country, as you call it, I believe; look how finely the land waves just under that mountain." "Yes, sir; the water runs off as if it was all drained; but it's mighty bad for the plough." "Well, my friend, I suppose I must say that it is an elegant country. What an elegant view we have just now to our right." "Yes, sir; that belongs to Mr. ——, that you're going to to-night; it's right elegant land, and would bring 50 dollars an acre to-morrow, and he has 1500 acres, all near as handsome, under wheat and corn."

We set off early in the morning, (15th) to see the celebrated natural bridge,* which was

* "The natural bridge, the most sublime of Nature's works, is on the ascent of a hill, which seems to have been cloven through its length by some great convulsion. The fissure, just at the bridge, is, by some admeasurements, 270 feet deep, by others only 205; it is about 45 feet wide at the bottom, and 90 feet at the top; this, of course, determines the length of the bridge, and its height above the water. Its breadth in the middle is about 60 feet, but more at the ends, and the

only two miles out of our way, and which Mr. Jefferson considers the greatest natural curiosity in America. It is certainly a wonderful scene, and one which it is impossible fully to embrace without seeing it several times. Having surveyed it in its different aspects, I left it with reluctance; and we proceeded 16 miles to breakfast, having previously fortified ourselves with a single cup of coffee, which we begged from a Negro, at a little cottage where his party were breakfasting, near the bridge. In this part of the country, the houses are generally of brick, substantial, and convenient; but not in good taste, nor in harmony with the rural beauty of the surrounding scenery. Occasionally we heard

thickness of the mass, at the summit of the arch, about 40 feet. A part of this thickness is constituted by a coat of earth which gives growth to many large trees; the residue, with the hill on both sides, is one solid rock of limestone. The arch approaches the semi-elliptical form; but the longer axis of the ellipsis, which would be the chord of the arch, is many times longer than the transverse. Though the sides of this bridge are provided, in some parts, with a parapet of fixed rocks, yet few men have the resolution to walk to them, and look over into the abyss. You involuntarily fall upon your hands and feet, creep to the parapet, and peep over it; looking down from this height about a minute gave me a violent head-ache. If the view from the top be painful and intolerable, that from below is delightful in an equal extreme."—*Jefferson's Notes on Virginia.*

a clock, which at first startled me, as I had not seen one since we left Georgia, and very few since we set out from Washington; every thing being regulated by the sun. If you ask what time it is, it either wants so many hours of noon, or it is so much before, or so much after *sun-down*. Meals are regulated by the sun, even in families where there is a watch, or a time-piece, as it is called; and I have very often heard evening service announced at church, to begin at *early* candle-light. This want of precision would run away with all the spare hours in our country. Another thing which struck me in the valley was, the frequent occurrence of wheat* and oats, the large proportion of cleared land, and the absence of the stumps of trees, which are every where conspicuous amidst the crops in the countries settled within the last 20 years. On reaching East Tennessee, the sight of two

* "We even observe, that in regions equally remote, the manners and traditions of Europe are more habitually preserved in the temperate zone, and on the ridges of the equatorial mountains, than in the plains of the torrid zone.—Similarity of situation contributes, in a certain degree, to maintain more intimate connections between the colonist and the metropolis. This influence of physical causes, in the state of infant societies, is particularly manifested, when it concerns portions of people of the same race, who have been recently separated from each other. In traversing the regions of the New World, we imagine that we find more traditions, a greater

fields in depth appeared so strange, as to remind me strongly of England; cultivation seldom extending in a great part, even of the cleared country, above one field deep into the woods. A pair of stocks, which I saw on a village green in the valley, at last furnished a decisive proof that we were again within the pale of civilization.

I was most interested, however, in observing a great alteration in the relative numbers of the White and Black population, and a corresponding increase of free labour engaged in agriculture. This is probably owing to the poverty of the early settlers, which has preserved their posterity from many evils, to which their southern neighbours are exposed. Not that these lovely scenes are unpolluted by slavery; there is scarcely a family without slaves, and almost every tavern is branded with the most

freshness in remembrance of the mother country, wherever the climate permits the cultivation of European corn. In this point of view, Pennsylvania, New Mexico, and Chili, resemble those elevated plains of Quito and New Spain, which are covered with oaks and with firs.

"Under the influence of an exotic nature, habits are generated, that are adapted to new wants, national remembrances are insensibly effaced, and those that remain, like phantoms of the imagination, have neither a local habitation nor a name."—*Humboldt.*

disgusting advertisements for runaways; but the heart is less frequently sickened at the sight of large gangs (excuse this hideous but technical term,) broiling under a vertical sun, and goaded to preternatural labour, as in Louisiana, by the lash. Here their masters, or other White labourers, occasionally work among them; and the cereal productions of this part of the country are less powerful stimulants to excessive exertion, than the sugar, rice, or cotton of more southern states.

I shall be truly glad when I pass beyond the limits of slavery. At present I do not recollect four places, of all those at which I have stopped either to eat or sleep, since I left Washington in January, where there were no domestic slaves; and in two of these instances abject poverty was pleaded *as an apology!* At most even of the better houses of entertainment where you stay, you see black slovenly-looking hovels round the yard, where the domestic Negroes live, and the young Black fry are crawling about the door, and, if the family are indulgent, about the house. The Black children are frequently quite naked, as sleek and glossy as may be; and I have often thought how you would laugh at their little rotund alderman-like figures. When

very young, they seem to mix almost indiscriminately with the White children, who, however, occasionally demonstrate their acknowledged superiority, though less frequently and less peevishly than I should have expected; at least as far as fell under my observation. The very youngest of them appear to me to view a White gentleman with some distrust, and to be *daunted* by any thing like attention. With the aid of my watch, however, I have generally succeeded in setting them a little at ease, and have often found them very arch little pickles. Notwithstanding the painful feelings their situation must excite, there is something so very grotesque in the contour of these little Black cupids, that I cannot, to this moment, avoid smiling when I see them. When treated with kindness and confidence, as they often are, the older ones seem to make excellent and intelligent servants; and my first impressions of their well-ordered manners and good language have been fully confirmed. Their desire to speak well, or rather their passion for it, and their love of long words, often lead them into laughable mistakes. A few mornings since, when I asked the ostler what time he generally opened the stables, he said he always slept there,

" in order to congratulate gentlemen on urgent business." In the better kind of houses of entertainment, there are usually several juvenile slaves, of different ages, waiting on you at table, the little ones under the orders of the elder. At this season of the year, one or two are employed in driving away the flies. At Mr. ——'s, at Natchez, I found they had adopted the East Indian mode of procuring a breeze, and driving the flies away, by a large fan suspended from the top of the room, wafted by a little Negro, in the adjoining hall, who pulled a string. We were several times amused to see him continue his see-saw operations, when apparently fast asleep; only starting a little occasionally when he made too deep a vibration.

On the 16th, about an hour before sunset, we reached Waynesborough, a peaceful village, at the foot of the Blue ridge, very like one of the little villages in the north of England. Here we began to ascend at Rock Fish Gap. After a steep ascent of two miles and a half, we reached the summit, and had a fine view of the valley between the Blue ridge and the North mountain. A hundred paces brought us into another world, as we began to descend into the deeper valley, on the eastern side; and for some time I enjoyed one of the most magnificent views

which can well be conceived. I think I never shall forget the half hour I spent in contemplating this scene; first, gilded by the rays of a glowing sun, "going down" to the inhabitants of the valley "while it was yet day," and then losing every feature of sublimity and beauty in the indistinctness and obscurity of night. I thought of you all; of our summer evenings, and our mountain views; and rode to a quiet inn, at the foot of the Blue ridge, the retirement of which allowed me to indulge my *home* recollections till I retired to rest.

Letter XIX.

Richmond, 21st June, 1820.

———. I FEAR, however, that I am leaving no room for an account of my very interesting visit to Monticello. I went nearly 25 miles out of my way to obtain a letter of introduction to Mr. Jefferson, from his friend, Judge ——, of Staunton, to whom I was recommended by the late amiable and very popular Governor of the State of Mississippi.

On the 18th instant, I left Hayes's tavern, at the foot of the Blue ridge, (to which my last letter brought me,) and proceeded to Gooch's, an excellent inn, to breakfast, where I saw the arrival of the Albion, at New York, with newspapers to the 30th April, and the sentence pronounced on Thistlewood and his associates. We shortly afterwards passed through Charlottesville, where General Tarleton was near capturing Mr. Jefferson and the State Legislature, being prevented only by a private intimation, sent by a female relation of one of

of the officers, a few miles distant, at whose house the General and his suite had invited themselves to breakfast. Here we saw an extensive university, which the State is erecting under Mr. Jefferson's auspices, and to which it is intended to invite the ablest Professors which Europe can supply.

We arrived at Monticello, three miles farther, about eleven o'clock, ascending the South West Mountain, on which the house is situated, by a winding carriage-road through the wood. I sent in my letter to Mr. Jefferson, who soon afterwards came out and gave me a polite reception, leading me through the hall, hung with mammoth bones and Indian curiosities, to a room, ornamented with fine paintings. A young lady was playing on a piano-forte, but retired when we entered. Our conversation turned principally on the Indians, and the fine timber of the United States. With respect to the former, he considers them quite on a level, as respects intellectual character, with the Whites, and attributes the rapid civilization of the Choctaws, compared with that of the Creeks, on whom, perhaps, greater efforts have been bestowed, to the advantages possessed by the former for the growth of cotton, which had gradually induced them to spin and weave.

He observed, that notwithstanding the fine specimens which have been preserved of Indian eloquence, the Indians appear to have no poetic genius; and that he had never known an Indian discover a musical taste; that, on the contrary, the Africans almost universally possess fine voices and an excellent ear, and a passionate fondness for music. With this I have often been struck, as I passed through the Southern States, especially when I have seen them assembled at public worship, or packing cotton at New Orleans. Mr. Jefferson said that he never knew a person who had resided long among the Indians, return and settle among the Whites; and I understood him to say also, that he never knew a person who left the coast for the western country, or his descendants, return to the Atlantic States. After sitting about an hour, I rose to take leave, when Mr. J. pressed me to stay to dinner, to which I assented, on condition that he would not allow me to be any restraint upon him. He said he must leave me for an hour to ride, as his health had a few months since begun to fail, for the first time.—I found no difficulty, however, in amusing myself in the museum and the grounds and garden. In the former, was the only upper jaw ever yet discovered, as

I was told, of a large animal now extinct, and some maps traced by the Indians on leather. The view on every side of the house, except one, where a small arc of the horizon is intercepted by a hill, is very extensive and beautiful. The Blue ridge affords an interesting variety of romantic scenery in a broken curve, extending, I believe, above 100 miles; one peak at the distance, I understood, of more than 120 miles, being sometimes visible. The horizon, on the Atlantic side, is about 40 miles distant; and bounds a flat well-wooded country, which appeared tame, when contrasted with the sublimity of the mountains. These, and especially a hill of the shape and dimensions of the largest pyramid in Egypt, which gives Mr. Jefferson a meridian line of 40 miles, frequently exhibit the phenomenon of looming.

On Mr. Jefferson's return from his ride, we had some interesting conversation respecting the university, and a favourite plan of his of dividing every county into districts, in which there should be schools, and a humble sort of college at convenient distances, a superior college, with every possible advantage, being established in the State. After dinner, when the ladies had retired, and we were quite alone, he expressed his sentiments very freely on the present

situation of England, and the character of many of her public men. He then stated the views and feelings which he had entertained with respect to her while President, as well as those which had been generally entertained by the American Government; the various causes which had contributed to the unhappy misunderstanding between the two countries, and the grounds for believing that many of them were of a nature which rendered their recurrence improbable. He then described, with a good deal of spirit and minuteness, the character of the different ministers we have sent to Washington, and concluded with an earnest hope, that as the two Governments at length understood each other perfectly, the people might gradually be soothed into better humour with one another. The particulars of this very interesting conversation, which lasted two hours, and of which I have preserved a memorandum, I will give you when we meet. *

* It is with great regret that I feel myself constrained to omit what would, perhaps, have been more generally interesting than any thing these volumes contain. It is not, indeed, probable, that Mr. Jefferson would object to the publication of any thing which he saw fit to communicate in conversation with a stranger; but there is not time to obtain his permission, and without it, delicacy imposes a restraint, which I feel unwilling to break through.

Mr. Jefferson's appearance is rather prepossessing. He is tall and very thin, a little bent with age, with an intelligent and sprightly countenance. His manners are dignified, but courteous and gentlemanly; and he enters into conversation with great ease and animation.

After two hours téte-à-téte, I rose about six o'clock to take my leave. He invited me to stay all night; but I thought I had already encroached sufficiently on his time, and I was not sure that we should withdraw to the ladies, of whom I had just seen enough to feel persuaded that I should have passed a very agreeable evening with them. While sitting with this philosophical legislator and his polished family, in a handsome saloon, surrounded by instruments of science, valuable specimens of the fine arts, and literary treasures of every nation, and every age, I could not help contrasting my situation with some of those which I had occupied during the preceding month, when sleeping on a bear-skin, on the floor of an Indian hut, listening to the traditions of my Chickasaw or Choctaw host, or dandling on my knee a young Indian warrior, with his miniature belt and mocassins, his necklaces and feathers, and his little bow and arrow, doomed to provoke nothing but a smile. In the course

of a few weeks, I had passed from deep forests, whose silence had never been broken by the woodman's axe, to a thickly settled country, where cattle were grazing in extensive meadows, and corn fields waving in the wind; where commerce was planting her towns, science founding her universities, and religion rearing her heaven-directed spires. In the same period, I had traced man through every successive stage of civilization, from the roaming savage, whose ideas scarcely extend beyond the narrow circle of his daily wants, to the statesman who has learnt to grasp the complicated interests of society, and the philosopher, to contemplate the system of the universe.

Crossing the Rivannah, at the bottom of Mr. Jefferson's grounds, the water up to our saddle-skirts, we proceeded to Mr. Boyd's tavern, about eight miles distant. On Monday, the 19th, we resumed our journey, breakfasting at Well's tavern, and resting four hours at Mrs. Tetley's, much more like a private lady's house than an inn; her manners quite those of a gentle-woman. She had a good library, where I recognized many old friends, the Edinburgh Review, Matthew Henry, Mrs. Hannah More, &c. &c. We slept at a small house, 42 miles from our resting place the preceding night; and starting

at half-past three o'clock on the 20th, reached Richmond, 25 miles, about eleven o'clock, having breakfasted at Powell's, a very comfortable inn, with an opulent tobacco planter and his wife, who were going to Richmond. The lady's black maid rode on horseback behind: I suppose nothing would induce them to admit her into the carriage. The black servants, who drive their master and mistresses in gigs, generally sit on the step, which has a most unpleasant and unsafe appearance. I was particularly struck with this at Charleston and Savannah.

I forgot to say, that at Mr. Jefferson's, I saw the belt and shot pouch of the famous Tecumseh, to whom I have already introduced you.*

* Page 136.

"Tecumseh, before his untimely death, had conceived a plan of collecting all the Indians of North America to some portion of the Continent not inhabited by white people, there to dwell together under their own government and laws; to enjoy their own customs and religion, inherited from their ancestors; to live in a state of independence; to sell no more of their lands to the white people; to cultivate, by all means, peace with them; to wage no other than necessary defensive wars; to quit roving and hunting for subsistence; to divide their territory into farms; and to live as do the whites, by agriculture and the arts. In this way he conceived that Indians might recover what they had lost; rise again into importance and influence; and once more assume their rank among the nations of the earth."—*Dr. Morse's Report on Indian Affairs.*

Letter XX.

Baltimore, 13th July, 1820.

—— I WROTE last from Richmond. While there, I staid at a hotel kept by a brother of the Attorney-General of the State, and of the Governor-elect of Louisiana. There were about forty usually at table, nearly one-half less than at the Eagle, where I staid before. The brother of Governor H——, who was so kind to me at Natchez, was staying there, being a Judge of the Supreme Court, which was sitting. The weather was too hot, however, to enjoy any thing, even rest, after our journey, the excellent regulations even of that well conducted house being unable to protect us from little torturers, which continually drove me from my bed to the floor. I saw nothing of the society of Richmond, except in one agreeable family, where I met many of the principal merchants. The view from the Terrace, which has been so much extolled, and which appeared to me so brown in winter, is greener, to be sure, and not without interesting features, but tame,

indeed, compared with the prospects from the Alleghany and the Blue Ridge. I went a few miles out of Richmond, on the 24th, to an inn, called the Shut Pump, where I thought I might, perhaps, be cool. The house, though a large one, was a pattern of cleanliness and comfort; and my host, Col. Sanders, and his wife, appeared very respectable. They had family-worship morning and evening, to which the travellers are invited, and were busy on the Sunday, in establishing a Sunday-school in the neighbourhood. This part of Virginia is not distinguished for an interest in religion. We had service only once in the day, and the clergyman returned home with us to dinner. On the 26th, we set off early, and rode 45 miles along a dull road, to a tavern, where we slept, taking coffee, about five o'clock, at a neat white-washed English looking inn, where we found a poor destitute Spaniard, whom the people of the house were nursing with great care. He was taken ill on the road, and they made him a fire at his request, communicated by signs, in the room where they were sitting, although the heat of the weather rendered it very unpleasant to them. This *was* charity. In the corner of the inn-yard was a little girls'-school, which the wife of my host conducted. The following

morning, we rode 20 miles to Stafford Court-house to breakfast, and remained there till afternoon, when we resumed our journey. We slept 15 miles distant, at a clean inn, in sight of the Potowmac, and the following morning passed Occoquan. We stopped at an obscure inn, a few miles beyond, to breakfast, and prepare to make a call at W——, in the neighbourhood. Mr. Kingsbury had given me a letter to the family, and the eulogiums of my host, while at breakfast, increased my desire to see them. I set off immediately after breakfast, having arranged to spend the heat of the day, at all events, at W——. On reaching the house, however, after a ride of two miles through the park, I was not a little disappointed to find that the ladies were not at home, being on a visit in Philadelphia, and that Major —— would not return for an hour or two. I suppose my disappointment confused my faculties; for instead of staying in this beautiful spot till the Major arrived, or at least till the day should be cooler, I left my card and Mr. Kingsbury's letter, and proceeded two miles before I thought how foolish I had been to undertake a broiling ride of 10 miles to Alexandria, the nearest inn. W—— is beautifully situated, at a little distance from the

Potowmac, and four miles from Mount Vernon, the seat of General Washington. I did not call at Mount Vernon, but proceeded to Alexandria, where I spent a couple of hours. I then rode forward to Washington, where I arrived about five o'clock, and was gratified by a hearty reception from my host and the black waiters at the inn. This is more disinterested than it would be in England, for it is not the custom to give the servants any thing. I was so perfectly broiled, that I would gladly have passed through without stopping; but I determined to call on the friends I had seen there in the winter. I found, however, that the rising of Congress had dispersed them all, and that they had migrated, like birds of passage, to a colder clime. Washington bore no slight resemblance to Cheltenham in winter; or, perhaps, a little to Bath in summer. Instead of the gay parties I had left driving to the capitol, to hear Mr. Pinckney speak, and the rows of hackney coaches which filled the avenue, nothing was in motion but here and there a pair of sorry hacks, conveying an exhausted lawyer to his solitary chamber from the Court, which happened to be sitting.

I had, however, to perform a promise made in the winter, to my travelling companion,

Mr. L——, that I would call with a letter, which he gave me, to his father. He lived four or five miles from Washington, as I was told, partly on my road; and as I could not afford to lose the cool of the morning, by waiting till a proper hour for calling, I resolved to go that night, and either proceed to the next inn, stay at Mr. L—'s all night, if invited, or return to Washington, as circumstances might dictate. As he was from home, I had the choice between two of the plans only; and the necessity of returning nearly to Washington in any case, in order to cross the Potowmac, induced me to prefer sleeping there, especially as our horses were much tired with toiling through the heat of the day, and scrambling to the pinnacle on which Mr. L. has placed his house.

I lay awake a great part of the night, thinking of all I had seen since I left Washington in the winter; and in the morning I set out, at four o'clock. At night, we reached Baltimore, 37 miles distant.

With my most intimate friends here, I have already made you acquainted. I have lately been paying some very agreeable visits at the country seats of some of my acquaintance in the neighbourhood; and while examining the Bakewell cattle, North Devons, &c. &c. for

which my host occasionally informs me he is indebted to Mr. C——, of N——, I can fancy myself riding round an English park. The other morning I set out, at four o'clock, with General ——, on a visit to a most agreeable family, who reside on a large manor, about 17 miles distant. We arrived about seven o'clock, and the family soon afterwards assembled to breakfast. It consisted of several friends from France, Canada, and Washington, and of the children and grand-children of my host, a venerable patriarch, nearly eighty-five years of age, and one of the four survivors of those who signed the Declaration of Independence.

The house, situated in an extensive manor, is a large unpretending mansion, and the whole domestic economy is substantially English.

After breakfast, Mr. C. retired to his study, and General —— conducted me to my room, where I read the Edinburgh Review till nearly dinner-time, the weather being too hot for exercise, and each person being left to his own pursuits. The family portraits, in the dining-room, comprised two or three generations, in their appropriate costume; and among others, was one of Mr. C. himself, painted, as he told

me, by Sir Joshua Reynolds, more than 60 years since.

In the cool of the evening, three ponies were brought out for the children, who had been anticipating their evening ride all day with great glee. As the General rode with them, leading the ponies of the little girls with long reins, I was reminded, with feelings of a melancholy pleasure, of "days that must return no more." It was a beautiful night, and we sat, talking in the porch, till a late hour, admiring the brilliant stars. General H.'s travels on the Continent, Mr. ——'s residence in Canada, the Count's budget of news from France, and my Indian tour, furnished the subject of conversation. After breakfast, the following morning, the ladies played for us on the harp; and in the evening, I set out on horseback, to return hither, not without a feeling of regret, that I had probably taken a final leave of my hospitable friend, who, although still an expert horseman, seldom goes beyond the limits of his manor. I had, however, seen him riding, in a long procession, through the streets of Baltimore, holding in his hand, the Declaration of Independence, which he delivered to the orator of the day, at the Monument of General Washington. Among the distinguished personages at his house, I

forgot to mention a little lap-dog, which Lord Wellington gave to Madam Jerome Bonaparte, who, you will recollect, is a very near connection of the family.

It is very hot; the thermometer, a few days since, having been 94° in the shade. I have just sold our horses for little more than half the first cost. They have carried us more than 1500 miles; and although they are much thinner than when we started, they are in good spirits. They were of a moderate size; one of them very strong, the other light, but bony.

The journey from Natchez to Richmond was about 1250 miles. We averaged 30 miles a-day, including all stoppages, or 35 miles, excluding Sundays, and the day we spent at Elliot. For the last seven or eight days, we accomplished about 40 miles each day. The expense of the journey from Natchez to Richmond was about £23, or, including the loss of our horses, £48, or about 9d per mile, which, for two persons, is reasonable enough.

Letter XXI.

Niagara, 2nd August, 1820.

It is with great pleasure that I address a letter to you from this celebrated spot. The feelings excited by the first view of this stupendous cataract have by no means subsided, and although it is difficult to withdraw either my eyes or my thoughts a moment from the magnificent scene before me, I must endeavour, as well as I can, to continue my narrative, before all trace of my journey from Baltimore hither is effaced from my recollection, by the new and deep impressions I am every moment receiving.

I left Baltimore soon after the date of my last letter, with the intention of making no stay either in Philadelphia or New York. In coming up New York Bay, in the steam-boat, I thought I saw the Martha among the numerous vessels which were dropping their anchors; and on landing, I met her captain, who gave me a good account of several of my friends whom he had seen, when embarking from Liverpool. Soon afterwards, the Courier's signal was flying, and I obtained my letters by her just as we

were setting off in the steam-boat to Albany. They were very numerous, and engrossed my attention so entirely, that I lost much of the fine scenery, in the early part of our sail up the Hudson River.

We left New York at six o'clock in the evening: and it was not till two or three hours afterwards that I quitted the small cabin to which I had retired to read my letters. On going on deck, as the evening was closing in, I found a very large party of ladies and gentlemen sitting and admiring the precipitous banks of the river; and I was glad to recognize among them several of my Carolinian and Georgian friends, who were leaving the summer heats of their southern climate, and repairing to the springs of Ballston and Saratoga, in the State of New York, 800 or 900 miles distant from home. They were all regretting that we should sail through the High-Lands in the night; and when we entered the pass between the Catskill* Mountains, about midnight, I sincerely participated in their regret. We had an unclouded moon; but the banks of the river were so high and so precipitous, and the rocks projecting in large masses, or lying confusedly on each other,

* I follow the orthography of the American Geographer Dr. Morse.

cast their dark shadows so thick around them, that we had only a dim and imperfect view of the effects of that violent disruption by which the Hudson has been enabled to force its way through the Mountains.

A bugle sounded, as we passed the Military College, at West Point, and recalled to our recollection that we were in the vicinity of some of the most interesting scenes of the revolutionary war—scenes with which the names of Washington, Putnam, Arnold, and André, will long be associated.

When I rose the following morning, the banks of the river appeared to be losing much of their wild character; and the country seats,

* "The Catskill Mountains are composed chiefly of granite and Gneiss, abounding in loose nodules and solid veins of magnetical iron ore. The width of the chain may be rated at about 16 miles. According to the barometrical observations of Captain Partridge, of the corps of engineers, Butternut, on the west side of the river, is 1529 feet above tide-water, and the New Beacon 1565 feet. This thick and solid barrier seems, in ancient days, to have impeded the course of the water, and to have raised a lake high enough to cover all the country to Quaker Hill, and the Taconick Mountains on the east, and the Shawangunk and the Catskill Mountains on the west. The lake may be calculated to have extended to the Little Falls of the Mohawk, and to Hadley's Falls, on the Hudson."—*Dr. Mitchell's Observations in the American edition of Cuvier's Theory of the Earth.*

which, nearer New York, often exhibit traces of cultivation and taste, which contrast finely with the rugged features of the Alpine scenery by which they are surrounded, had almost disappeared.

We did not reach Albany until noon, the steam-boat having grounded, although the Hudson is said to be navigable 130 miles above New York for a 64 gun-ship. Some of my companions, who were setting off to the Springs, pressed me to join them; but I found I should be closely occupied for two or three days in replying to my commercial letters from England. It was not till the third day that I completed my task, when I rode to Troy to visit some friends, who took me after dinner to see the falls of the Mohawk, called the Cohoes. The river is about 800 feet wide, and falls 50 feet; but the effect is probably diminished by the absence of any material obstruction to break the uniformity with which it flows through a channel of black slate.

The country in the vicinity of Troy and Albany has many rather interesting features; but the aspect of Albany itself is not particularly attractive.

We set out from that place at two o'clock, on the 27th, in the stage; and crossing the

Mohawk river, arrived at Schenectady, 16 miles distant, to breakfast. We then proceeded to the Little Falls of the Mohawk, approaching the village through a narrow pass, where the rocks above our head exhibited strong indications of having been once exposed to the action of a rapid current. "You see them piled on "each other," observes Governor Clinton, in his Introductory Discourse, "like Ossa on Pelion, "and in other places huge fragments scattered "about, indicating a violent rupture of the "waters through this place, as if they had "been formerly dammed up, and had forced a "passage; and in all directions you behold "great rocks, exhibiting rotundities, points, and "cavities, as if worn by the violence of the "waves, or hurled from their ancient positions. "The general appearance of the Little Falls "indicates the former existence of a great lake "above, connected with the Oneida Lake; and "as the waters forced a passage here and "receded, the flats above were formed, and "composed several thousand acres of the "richest land."

From the Little Falls we proceeded to the German Flats, with the name of which Mrs. Grant has long rendered you familiar, to Herkimer, and the village of Schuyler, and

thence to Utica, 98 miles from New York, where we arrived about eight o'clock in the evening. Our road, nearly the whole day, was on the banks of the Mohawk river, through a well cultivated and populous country, abounding with neat little towns, remarkable for the number and handsome appearance of their churches. The farms, on the German Flats, and near the village of Herkimer, seemed particularly rich and flourishing. We set off from Utica, where old Fort Schuyler once stood, at five o'clock, alone in the stage, and crossing the great canal which is to connect the American lakes with the Atlantic, reached Vernon to breakfast.—Here we took up a young gentleman, and his wife and sister, whom I had met in England. In the course of the day, we passed a village of Oneida Indians, who have a neat white church, in which the Episcopal service is performed.

At a distance we saw the Oneida Lake and extensive forests, but no mountains. In the afternoon, we reached Onondaga Hollow, as it is called, and were informed that the township of Onondaga is celebrated for having been one of the principal settlements of the Iroquois Indians, (who, in their sales to the United States, have reserved some lands, which they still possess,) and for the valuable salt springs, in a

district in the vicinity, called Salina. I could not, in passing, learn much of the present state of the Indians there, which I regretted the more, as they were among the earliest of those visited by the French Missionaries. Governor Clinton states, that "it appears from Charlevoix's "History of New France, that missionaries "were sent to Onondaga, in 1654; that they "built a chapel, and made a settlement; that "a French colony was established there under "the auspices of Le Sieur Depuys, in 1656." The marshes in the vicinity of the salt springs are said to be unhealthy; fever and ague, and bilious remittents, being very common. *

* "Within this township are the celebrated springs, called the Onondaga Salt Springs; scarcely rivalled in the world, if they are at all rivalled, in their utility to mankind. These springs rise in a marsh at the head of Onondaga Lake, sometimes called from them the Salt Lake. This piece of water is about seven miles long, and, where widest, three broad. It is very deep. The water on the surface is perfectly fresh, but at a moderate distance beneath, is salt. The cause of this fact is obvious: the lake receives its waters both from fresh and salt sources; and the salt water, being specifically heavier, subsides. According to Dr. De Witt's estimate, taking the specific gravity of rain-water at 1, that of these springs is from 1.078 to 1.110. The temperature is from 50° to 53°; and that of the lightest and the heaviest was the same.

"The water of these springs is remarkably impregnated with salt. Fifty gallons yield, by boiling, a bushel of salt, weigh-

Soon after leaving Onondaga we reached Skeneatles, one of the chain of small lakes, which you may observe on the map. It is about 15 miles long, and two broad; but its shores are tame and uninteresting. We slept at Auburn, about 76 miles from Utica, where we left the ladies, who travelled leisurely; and my servant and I had again the stage to ourselves. We breakfasted on the banks of Cayuga

ing fifty-six pounds. It contains a considerable quantity of lime.

"The head of the lake is surrounded for some distance by marshy ground, interspersed with a few trees and bushes, and abounding in flags and wild grass. The salt springs issue chiefly from the marsh, near the banks by which it is inclosed, and at various distances from the waters of the lake. The principal springs, which are most highly impregnated with salt, and which supply the greater number of the manufactories at present established, issue from the marsh in a group, at the foot of the declivity, commonly called the Salt Point, near the spot where the Onondaga creek joins the lake. On this point is built the village of Salina. There are many other salt springs in different parts of the marsh, some along the shores of the lake, several miles farther down, and others at a considerable distance up the creek. All these are not, however, equally replenished with this mineral.

"These springs issue perpendicularly from the marsh through small orifices. The water is conveyed into cisterns, and thence into potash kettles, containing generally about eighty gallons, and placed over furnaces. When they are filled they are made to boil briskly, until the lime is deposited and removed. The salt then begins to crystallize, and

Lake, about 38 miles long, and four broad. It is said by Bradbury, that over the bridge at Cayuga, as he was informed by an inhabitant of the neighbourhood, in April 1816, more than 1500 waggons had passed within the preceding 18 months, containing emigrants to the western country. At Waterloo, where there is a large hotel, we took in two respectable young women, who were very conversable.

the boiling is suffered to proceed gently, until the water is chiefly evaporated. The salt is then taken out, and drained dry.

"Dr. De Witt obtained, from half a pint of this water, 1¼ oz. avoirdupois of salt, and 26 gr. of calcareous earth. A gallon of the water, therefore, contains 8.816 gr., or 20 oz. and 76 gr. of salt, and 416 gr. of calcareous earth. According to this experiment, this water contains more than one-sixth of its own weight in salt. It also includes carbonic acid gas, and a small quantity of the sulphuric acid.

"Mr. Byington informed me, that the customary estimate of the salt, actually obtained in the works, was fifty-six pounds of salt from fifty gallons of water. This is believed to be the strongest natural brine hitherto found in the world. Dr. De Witt supposed the water to be impregnated almost to saturation. Mr. Byington told me, that salt could not be dissolved in it, except in exceedingly small quantities.

"The latter of these gentlemen also informed me, that the quantity of salt made in the year 1803 amounted to 96,000 bushels, and that in 1804 it would extend to 100,000. A duty of four cents on the bushel is paid to the state.

"The salt is forbidden by law to be sold for more than sixty cents per bushel."

We reached Geneva, at the head of Seneca Lake, at ten o'clock; and as I had commercial letters, which it was necessary to complete that day, I determined to remain at this attractive spot. My letters kept me hard at work till it was nearly dark, when I rambled by the side of the lake, which would be beautiful, if there were distant mountains, as the woods and villas on its sloping banks present an interesting variety. Its pellucid waters and pebbly shores, combined with the fragrance of a fine summer evening, and the soft light of the rising moon, united to detain me till a late hour, when I returned to my inn; from the windows of which I still overlooked its placid expanse, as the village is romantically situated on an eminence, which commands an extensive prospect. The next day (Sunday,) I attended the Episcopal church in the morning, and the Presbyterian in the afternoon. On Monday, at two o'clock in the morning, we set out, in a crowded opposition stage, and drove furiously to Canandagua, a beautiful little town, where there is another lake, 15 miles long. We found fresh horses standing ready, and soon dashed off again, jostling the other stages with the most animated competition, and except that we had "Indian Queens," "Oneida Chiefs," and

"Montezumas," instead of "Regulators," "Umpires," and "Bang-ups," we might have fancied ourselves in England. We were frequently in the vicinity of the great Pulteney estate; and after crossing the Gennessee river, arrived about eight o'clock, at Buffalo, on Lake Erie, 106 miles from Geneva, and about 305 from Albany. Our fellow-passengers this day were more vulgar and indelicate, than an average party in a cheap opposition stage in England.

In the course of the day, we passed an Indian, who put a written paper into the coach, inquiring if we had seen a stray horse, which he described, and offering a tomahawk and scalping knife to the finder.

The ride from Albany was, on the whole, an interesting one; and probably no country in the world was ever settled with so much rapidity, and brought to the same degree of civilization in the same time, as much of that part of the State of New York through which we passed. The sudden creation of prosperous towns, and highly cultivated farms, in the centre of those forests, in whose solitudes, within a very few years, the Indian hunter pursued his game, appears rather like enchantment than the slow result of those progressive efforts, with which, in the old

world, savage nature has been subdued. Even in the *wilder* parts of England, we have to travel back many centuries, before fancy can venture to draw even a few faint sketches of nature in her primitive dress; to pourtray, even in dim and distant vision, her native woods, her untrodden marshes, or the wild * tenants of her primeval forests.

* "But could a curious observer of the present day carry himself nine or ten centuries back, and ranging the summit of Pendle, survey the forked vale of Calder on one side, and the bolder margins of the Ribble and Hodder on the other; instead of populous towns and villages, the castle, the old tower-built house, the elegant modern mansion, the artificial plantation, the inclosed park and pleasure ground; instead of uninterrupted inclosures, which have driven sterility almost to the summit of the fells, how great must have been the contrast, when ranging either at a distance, or immediately beneath, his eye must have caught vast tracts of forest ground, stagnating with bog, or darkened by native woods, where the wild ox, the roe, the stag, and the wolf, have scarcely learnt the supremacy of man; when directing his view to the intermediate spaces, to the winding of the vallies, or expanse of the plain beneath, he could only have distinguished a few insulated patches of culture, each encircling a village of wretched cabins, among which would still be remarked one rude mansion of wood, scarcely equal in comfort to a modern cottage, yet then rising proudly eminent above the rest, where the Saxon lord, surrounded by his faithful band, enjoyed a rude and solitary independence, owning no superior but his sovereign."—*Dr. Whittaker's History of Whalley.*

As we passed along, we observed that the wheat and oats were generally gathered; the Indian corn, six or seven feet high, was still green, and in tassel, as it is called, and looked magnificent, though less beautiful in my eyes than in its earlier stages. The farm houses were neat and comfortable; but the farmers, like a large proportion of the the rest of American population, south of New England, are at present deeply in debt. I am informed, however, that they are buying nothing, and paying the country merchants by degrees, as the low price of produce affords the opportunity. It is high time that this nation should learn economy; for habits of extravagance had been gradually diffused through almost every class of society, south of New England, to a degree, without a precedent, I am persuaded, in any European country. Every thing, even a horse, was often sold on credit; and few had fortitude to forego indulgences, however unsuitable, which those around them, with ampler means, were enjoying.

It was just light enough, when we arrived at Buffalo, to see Lake Erie from my bed-room windows. It was impossible that the first sight of this expanse of water should not kindle the imagination; but these inland seas of fresh

water have few features in common with our lakes, or with our ideas of a lake.

On the 1st August, we left Buffalo, at six o'clock in the morning, in a stage, with two other passengers, and proceeded two miles to Blackrock, where we took the ferry-boat across the Niagara river, from which we had a fine view of Lake Erie. We soon landed in his Majesty's dominions; and it was with no common satisfaction, I assure you, that I set my foot on British territory. For some time, I felt at home again, and found myself unconsciously doing the honours to the American *strangers*. I had been tolerably indifferent about accommodations, while travelling in America; but I now felt a sort of responsibility, and an anxiety that the Canadian inns should be at least clean. This has, so far, been an inconvenient feeling; and if the inns do not improve, I must dismiss it.

We were now within 20 miles of the Falls; and our driver was not so expeditious as our impatience made us think he might be. The noble river, often expanding to a great width, and flowing majestically along, made the drive interesting, notwithstanding flat shores; and about five miles before we reached our destination, we heard the roar of the torrent, and saw

the spray rising to the clouds. The sound is said to be heard sometimes to the distance of 15 miles or more, when the wind is favourable. Soon afterwards, we came in sight of the rapids, where the river, increasing in velocity as it approaches the chasm, into which it is going to precipitate itself, is thrown into the most violent commotion by the hidden rocks which oppose its passage. Any where but in this vicinity, these rapids would be regarded as an object of curiosity worth going a great distance to see. Proceeding a little farther, with almost breathless interest, we at last caught a very fine view of this stupendous cataract, falling from the level on which we stood into the abyss below. I shall not attempt to describe it, nor the sensations which it excited. I could not express my feelings; and there are already within your reach descriptions far more graphic and minute than I could give you. * I may, however, say with sincerity, that it at least fully equalled my high-raised

* The following is so admirable a description of the Falls, that those who have not seen the interesting and well-written Travels from which it is extracted, will be gratified by the opportunity of perusing it:—

"The extent of the Falls has never been correctly ascertained, as, indeed, their peculiar form, and several other circumstances, render this impossible. The height of the

expectations. Had I not been prepared by some excellent prints, I should have been disappointed to find the country in the neighbourhood so little romantic, and so little Alpine scenery in the immediate vicinity of the Fall. The river St. Lawrence flows from Lake Erie over high Table Land, which continues elevated as far as Queenston, seven miles below the Falls, (which it is supposed, with great probability, were formerly there, and that the water has

great Fall, as taken with a plumb-line by some engineers from the United States, was found to be 149 feet 9 inches. Its curve is supposed to extend 2100 feet, and its arc may measure nearly half that space. The breadth of Goat Island, which divides the two cataracts, has been found to be 984 feet. Therefore, the whole circumference of the precipice, over which the cataracts fall, is 4214 feet, and the width of the cataract itself 3240 feet. At one time, the Table Rock extended fifty feet beyond the cliffs that support it, but its projection is not so great at present.——

"The body of water which composes the middle part of the great Fall is so immense, that it descends nearly two-thirds of the space without being ruffled or broken, and the solemn calmness with which it rolls over the head of the precipice is finely contrasted with the perturbed appearance it assumes after having reached the gulf below. But the water towards each side of the Fall is shattered the moment it drops over the rock, and loses as it descends, in a great measure, the character of a fluid, being divided into pyramidal-shaped fragments, the bases of which are turned upwards. The surface of the gulf below the cataract presents a very singular aspect; seeming, as it were, filled with an immense quantity

gradually worn the deep channel in which it now flows, from the present situation of the cataract, to that place. The cataract is still supposed to be gradually receding, and some large fragments of rock have lately fallen, which confirm and illustrate the theory of the recession of the rocky barrier, over which the mass of water rushes into the abyss.

After breakfasting at twelve o'clock, at the inn, about half a mile distant, I descended with my stage companions, and my servant, into the

of hoar frost, which is agitated by small and rapid undulations. The particles of water are dazzlingly white, and do not apparently unite together, as might be supposed, but seem to continue for a time in a state of distinct comminution, and to repel each other with a thrilling and shivering motion which cannot easily be described.

"The noise made by the Horse-shoe Fall, though very great, is infinitely less than might be expected, and varies in loudness according to the state of the atmosphere. When the weather is clear and frosty, it may be distinctly heard at the distance of ten or twelve miles; nay, much further when there is a steady breeze: but I have frequently stood upon the declivity of the high bank that overlooks the Table Rock, and distinguished a low thundering only, which at times was altogether drowned amidst the roaring of the rapids above the cataract. The noise vibrates from one side of the rocky precipice to the other, and a little only escapes from its confinement; and even this is less distinctly heard than it would otherwise be, as the profusion of spray renders the air near the cataract a very indifferent conductor of sound."—*Howison's Sketches of Upper Canada.*

bed of the river, and after a long rocky scramble got under the sheet of water, but was quickly driven back by wind and water, drenched to the skin. The eels on the wet stones were so numerous that it was impossible to avoid treading upon them; and my servant was deterred from following me, apprehending they were serpents. After changing my clothes, and getting rid of my voluble companions, who were rather inconvenient attendants at such a scene, as they seemed disappointed and almost in ill-humour, on finding that the celebrated Niagara was only a river falling from a rock, I returned to the cataract, and spent nearly the remainder of the day on the banks of the river, whose woody indentations present a very uncommon number and variety of views of the Falls. On my return to the inn after dark, I found a southern lady and gentlemen, friends of Mr. Lowndes, to whom I have so often alluded in the course of these Letters. It is always delightful to meet with those who know him, and to hear his eulogies.—His family speak of him with great affection; his neighbours describe him as unreasonably accommodating; his fellow-citizens as a strange combination of humility, disinterestedness, and talents; his coadjutors as the only man they

knew devoid of personal ambition, desirous to illustrate his rival's merits, and conceal his own; and Mr. Jefferson pronounced him in my presence the ablest and the most virtuous man in the country, and if life be spared, the future President. I cannot refrain from copying for you the following description of Mr. Lowndes, as delineated in the publication from which I have already extracted some sketches of public characters:—

"Mr. Lowndes, like Mr. Calhoun, is from the "south! He is a man of wealth and of probity; "modest, retiring, and unambitious; but his "mind is of the first order, vigorous, compre- "hensive, and rapid. He is chairman of the "committee of ways and means, and in that "situation has discovered a very general, pro- "found, and extensive knowledge of finance; a "subject in itself dry and difficult, and to which "very few of the citizens of this country have "devoted much of their leisure. To Mr. "Lowndes, however, it appears to be a branch "of political science, peculiarly pleasing, and to "which he is much devoted, both from inclina- "tion and habit. He is not only an able poli- "tical economist, but a skilful statist. As a "statist, however, Mr. Pitkin, a member of "the same committee, and a man of talents,

" possesses, I suspect, more accuracy of detail,
" and greater extent of information. He has
" entered more minutely into the facts and
" details on which this branch of political eco-
" nomy is founded, and understands more of
" political arithmetic than the gentleman I have
" mentioned; but on every other subject con-
" nected with politics, Mr. Lowndes is more
" intelligent, and better read. He never takes
" up an opinion, or adopts a theory that has not
" been sanctioned by his own judgment, or that
" cannot bear the test of logical analysis. His
" mind possesses a mathematical tact, and every
" subject which presents itself, and which can-
" not be demonstrated is rejected or admitted
" with hesitation and doubt. In the fields of
" fancy, he but seldom suffers himself to loiter;
" the glitter of imagination neither dazzles nor
" delights him, and he prefers rather to wander
" through the sombrous groves of philosophy,
" than to stroll amidst the enchanted palaces
" and magic haunts of fiction. His memory is
" powerful and retentive, and furnishes him, in
" an instant, with whatever he may have wished
" to retain; but he is no orator; his voice is
" low and feeble, his gesticulation awkward and
" inelegant, and his whole manner unprepossess-
" ing and defective. What he says, however,

" is said with perspicuity and force, and carries " with it conviction to the mind. In speaking, " he has no exordiums or perorations; he " marches, like Homer, to the point at once, " and endeavours to satisfy the judgment, with- " out deigning to tickle the fancy. Mr. Lowndes " seems to be aware of his defects, and does not " wish to excel as an orator; his object is of " a more extended and comprehensive character; " his ambition is the ambition of virtue, and he " aspires to the lofty and imposing elevation of " a statesman and a patriot. The contracted " views and paltry intrigues of party are " beneath the dignity of his mind, and revolting " to the virtues of his heart; and he labours " not for adventitious and fleeting reputation; " but for the permanent good and lasting glory " of his country. When he addresses the house " every ear is attentive, lest any thing should " escape, and every mind is satisfied, because " the truths which have been uttered were " recommended by the charms of virtue, " and arrayed in the simple beauty of moral " worth. He possesses great sensibility of heart, " and great delicacy of feeling; he would rather " relinquish the exultation of triumph over his " antagonist in argument, than experience the

" pain of having inflicted a wound on his vanity.
" I know not for what station destiny has
" designed him, but his mind would qualify
" him for almost any thing; he realizes the idea
" which Mirabeau has formed of a statesman.
" 'This word,' says he, 'presents to the mind
" the idea of a vast genius, improved by expe-
" rience, capable of embracing the mass of
" social interests, and of perceiving how to
" maintain true harmony among the individuals
" of which society is composed,' and an extent
" of information which may give substance and
" union to the different operations of govern-
" ment.' The talents and high standing of Mr.
" Lowndes induced the present executive of
" this country to offer him the situation of
" Minister of War; but he refused to accept
" it, and seems to be satisfied with the condition
" to which his constituents have elevated him,
" and which, I presume, he can retain as long
" as he feels inclined to do so. Of the private
" character of this gentleman, I know nothing;
" but I should infer, from my short acquaint-
" ance with him, that he is as conspicuous for
" moral as for intellectual excellencies, and that
" in the humbler and less brilliant walks of
" domestic life, though he may not acquire so

"much reputation, he is still not less distin-
"guished than in the glare of political splen-
"dour."

* Since the preceding letter was written, America has been called to deplore, in the decease of this enlightened and virtuous statesman, a severer loss than she has sustained since the death of Washington.

The peculiar exigencies which occur in the various vicissitudes which nations experience, demand qualities as peculiar in those who preside over their affairs. When America, in the infancy of her existence, had oppression to resist, independence to achieve, a constitution to form, a system of legislation to establish, and the conflicting claims of opposing interests to examine and adjust; she required, and happily she found, a chosen band of warrior-statesmen, who could grasp alternately, and with equal skill, the sword and the pen; who were not less conspicuous for sagacity in council than for courage in the camp. But now that she has attained a high rank among the nations, and is advancing with unprecedented rapidity in wealth and power; when external hostility has ceased to menace, and the murmurs of civil discord are hushed to repose, that statesman most effectually promotes her true and permanent interests who does most to protect her from the baneful influence of avarice and ambition; those absorbing and fatal passions, the seeds of which, deeply seated in the human breast, are but too sure, even under the best institutions, to germinate in days of ease and prosperity. Under such circumstances, it is impossible to estimate the loss of one who, like Mr. Lowndes, carried into her councils that high-toned morality which scorns, even in political life, and when supported by numbers, to sacrifice principle to expediency, or to minister to base and sordid passions, however speciously disguised. No one had embraced more liberal and comprehensive views of foreign policy, and commercial legislation; no one more deeply felt the deplorable

In the course of the day, I saw some soldiers in British uniform, which excited a strong sen-

influence of the commercial code of his country on its commercial morality.

And when we reflect on the wide sphere in which he would have been called to act, if spared to attain the maturity of power and influence, it is impossible not to feel that it is not his own country only that has sustained a loss in his early removal from the labours and agitations of this lower scene.—It is with a melancholy pleasure that I record in these pages the tribute of respect paid by his fellow-citizens at Charleston, to one, for whose memory I must ever cherish the warmest sentiments of grateful and affectionate admiration.

"At a Meeting held in the City-hall, at Charleston, at 11 o'clock, on Saturday, for the purpose of paying a tribute of respect to the memory of our late distinguished fellow-citizen William Lowndes, the Hon. John Geddes, Intendant of the city of Charleston, was called to the Chair, and I. E. Holmes, Esq. appointed Secretary to the Meeting; when, after an appropriate and affectionate eulogium on the character of the illustrious deceased, by the Hon. R. Y. Hayne, the following Resolutions were moved by that gentleman, and seconded by Col. James R. Pringle, and by the Meeting were unanimously adopted:—

"The melancholy intelligence having been received, that the Hon. Wm. Lowndes is no more, the citizens of Charleston, (the place of his nativity and of his education,) while they deplore this national bereavement, would offer a tribute of respect to those virtues and talents which secured to the deceased, while living, the esteem of all men, and cannot now be recollected without the deepest sorrow for their premature extinction. In depth and comprehensiveness of understanding—in all the various acquirements of a statesman and a scholar—in copiousness and felicity of expression—in rectitude of judgment—in a calm but lofty patriotism—in

sation, after my long absence from home. They had brought their wives to see the Falls; and the warm manners of these affectionate creatures formed a strong contrast to the general coldness of the American women of the middle classes.

Ontario, Steam-boat, 6th August.—The next day, (the 2nd, after writing the preceding,) we set off to Queenston, seven miles distant. This

simplicity of character—in benevolence of temper—in delicacy of behaviour, and spotless purity of design—where shall we find a superior? Amid the difficulties which sectional differences may engender, his hand might have held the balance, and his composing spirit allayed the strife. But the wisdom that could dictate to a people, is now mute; and the purifying example of a matchless citizen has been removed from a Nation's eyes.

The citizens of Charleston, therefore, deeply sensible of the loss which society has sustained by the death of the Hon. Wm. Lowndes, whereby the lustre of South Carolina has been dimmed, and the National Councils deprived of one of their highest ornaments—*Do unanimously Resolve:*

1st,—That they affectionately cherish the memory of a merit so exalted, and of a virtue so pure.

2nd,—That we sincerely sympathize with the amiable family of the deceased.

3rd,—That Stephen Elliott, Esq. be requested to prepare a funeral eulogium on the life and character of the deceased, to be pronounced at a public meeting of the citizens, at such time and place as he may appoint, and that a committee be appointed to wait on Mr. Elliott accordingly.

4th,—That these Resolutions be published in the several papers of this city.

place, you will recollect as a scene of carnage, in the last American war; and my companions pointed out to me the heights, from which the American soldiery plunged with dreadful impetuosity into the abyss below, only, alas, to find a refuge in a watery grave, from the scalping knives of the Indians, who were pursuing them. From these heights we had a fine view of Lake Ontario, into which the St. Lawrence or Niagara river empties itself, seven miles distant, at the village of Niagara, to which we proceeded. I found there a garrison of about 400 British soldiers, in a miserable fortress, mouldering to decay, with little appearance of discipline or respectability. This was the more mortifying to my English feelings, as within gun-shot (during the war cannon-shot was often exchanged) the American flag was flying on the old French fort, Niagara, in excellent repair, and of far more formidable aspect, although the garrison contained little more than 120 men. These, however, were kept employed, while the British were allowed to be idle, if they chose, although they might occasionally work for farmers in the neighbourhood. The latter, indeed, is a privilege which, when not on guard, it seems desirable should be conceded to them; but as they have 1½ gills of rum allowed per day, and

can buy a gallon of the same liquor for a dollar, too many of them are idle; and one effect of their indolent habits was, perhaps, visible in the humiliating spectacle of one of the men receiving, for some offence or other, his 300 lashes, a short time before, as I was informed, *in sight of the American fort, and in presence of several American travellers*, who exulted in the superiority which they inferred from it, they might fairly ascribe either to the materials, or to the discipline, of their own army, from which this disgrace is banished. I conversed some time with an Irish soldier, who thought Niagara a fine situation, from the cheapness of liquor. At the inn I found several gentlemen waiting for the American steam-boat, which arrives only once a fortnight, and sails to Sacket's Harbour, &c. They had stayed several days, and were killed with ennui. To avoid catching the disease, and knowing that I should probably meet the British steam-boat, Frontenac, on her route to Niagara and Kingston; I sailed immediately to York, in Upper Canada, the seat of Government, about 30 miles distant, on the other side of Lake Ontario. We were becalmed in a miserable open boat, and were out all night, our passage, which ought to have been accomplished in four or five hours, occupying nearly

a day and a night. We arrived, however, in time to see York, the flat situation of which gives it no very imposing appearance, and to dine there before the sailing of the steam-boat, which was to be our conveyance back to Niagara. I dined at the inn with some English gentlemen, whose Port wine and English prejudices convinced me that I was again amongst most loyal subjects of King George. Their prejudices were evinced by the most pitiful, bigoted, and ill-natured remarks respecting their neighbours, the Americans. Of these remarks I could have collected a sufficient number to satisfy the most craving appetite, and to afford exquisite delight to those who, by some unhappy obscuration of intellect, or contraction of heart, confound patriotism with national antipathy; and conceive that they most effectually exalt their own country by petty and malicious efforts to depreciate others. Were these malignant traducers a true specimen of the English character, that character would justly become the scorn and detestation of the globe.

Embarking from York, in the evening, we reached the village of Niagara early on the 4th, and proceeded up the river to Queenston, to take in passengers, and remain all day before we sailed to Kingston, at the

bottom of Lake Ontario. Of course, I did not lose the opportunity of paying a second visit to the Falls of Niagara.

On this occasion, I crossed over to the American shore, ascending into the gulf by a sort of ladder. Stunned with the sound of the cataract, and covered with spray, we got into the boat without thought or examination. We had not proceeded far, however, when we appeared to be within the influence of an eddy, which threatened to carry us under the tremendous torrent; and on asking our boatman if he always went so near, he appeared frightened, and confessed he was not the regular boatman, but was supplying his place a day or two, "as "he was sick." We were a good deal alarmed, and got hold of the oars to pull with all our might; but one of the pegs broke, and compelled us to use one oar at last as a paddle. Indeed, our boat was so light and crazy that a single oar strained her side, and we were obliged to pull with caution. After some very anxious minutes, we got out of the eddy, and descended with the stream, when we were again carried up rapidly by another eddy, which, however, landed us safely on the opposite shore, at a short distance from the cataract. It is unpardonable to have such a boat on that perilous passage.

Our temporary boatman said they were going to get a new one; and I suppose they will, when some fatal accident has happened.

While we were ascending the artificial staircase out of the gulf, on the opposite side, a violent thunder-storm came on suddenly. It just gave us time to reach a sort of summer-house, which is made to overhang the gulf, and to embrace a most magnificent view of the Falls. It is scarcely possible to conceive a sublimer spectacle than we then beheld. The black clouds were so low, as sometimes to hide from our view the foaming rapids immediately above the Fall, and to give the cataract, on which they almost rested, the appearance of issuing from their bosom, while vivid lightning darted from the higher strata on the falling torrent, or flashed on the world of waters in the gulf below.

I think I have not told you that Niagara is an Iroquois word, signifying "The Thunder "of Waters;" and Mississippi, another Indian word, which means "The Father of Waters."

At the inn on the American side of the Falls, I was no little astonished to receive your letter of the ——, from the hands of a stranger, who was on his way to Canada, and to whose

care it had been confided by a friend at New York. It was a most unexpected gratification.

I returned to Lewistown opposite Queenston on the American side of the river, and crossed the ferry to our steam-boat; but finding it was not intended to sail till morning, while the American steam-boat, just arrived, was to sail at ten o'clock that night; I removed my trunks to the latter. We set sail at midnight, and soon afterwards entered Lake Ontario. On awakening in the morning, however, I was disappointed, to find that we had been driven back by the tempestuous tossings of the Lake, to Niagara Fort; where we remained all day, availing ourselves of the opportunity of a close inspection of the American garrison, which appeared in excellent order.

We set sail this morning. It was beautifully clear, not a cloud to be seen, except that formed by the spray rising from the cataract, which we saw very distinctly, at the distance of 20 miles. It appeared gradually to spread itself over a considerable expanse of sky.

As far as I can yet judge, we have a very pleasant party on board. Some of the ladies were much alarmed the first night we were out, and others suffered grievously from sea-sickness.

Letter XXII.

Montreal, 21st August, 1822.

Soon after I had finished my letter on board the steam-boat, we stopped near the mouth of the Genessee River to give us the opportunity of seeing Rochester and its vicinity. Stages had been previously sent for, in which we proceeded to Rochester nine miles distant. On our way, we stopped to see the lower falls of the Genessee River, and Carthage Bridge. This wooden bridge is now in ruins. When perfect, it must have been extremely beautiful. It was a single arch, whose span was about 350 feet wide, and its extreme height above the surface of the river 196 feet. It gave way from the slightness of its materials, immediately after two children had crossed it. A short distance above it, are the falls of the Genessee, which appeared to me to bear a strong resemblance to those of the Clyde. At Rochester, we found a handsome cotton-mill, and every symptom of a thriving town. Instead of "cash store" being painted over the shops, as in most towns in the United States, to tell the

customers that the shopkeepers sell only for cash, while they may almost be induced to sell even a thimble on credit; here "cash *given* for wheat," "cash *given* for, &c. &c." was the usual motto. We learnt also, that the town was blessed by the absence of a bank, while in the smallest American town, I had been accustomed to find banks the first object which presented themselves, the Farmer's Bank, the Merchant's Bank, the Planter's Bank, the Mechanic's Bank, the Franklin Bank, the Patriotic Bank, &c. &c. with their various combinations, had met my eye more or less in every village. We embarked again about two o'clock, and in the morning by day-light, found ourselves at Sacket's Harbour, of which we heard so much during the war. It is a noble natural harbour, and the place where the American ships employed on the lakes, were built so rapidly. Many of them are now rotting under wooden covers. There is one, half finished, *said* to be longer than our largest ship of the line, covered with a wooden shade, which itself, our conductor told us, cost £7000. This immense vessel, so far inland, on the banks of a lake, was a singular sight, and excited some incongruous ideas. We sailed again soon after breakfast, and in the morning (9th) found ourselves at Ogdensburgh,

about 260 miles from Niagara, which we had left on the 6th. The preceding afternoon, we had entered the St. Lawrence, and I had been much delighted with our sail through that expanse of it which is called the Lake of the Thousand Islands. In reality, there are more than 2000 of every size and form, and a lovely afternoon exhibited them in all their beauty. As we glided past them on the smooth surface of the St. Lawrence, I thought I had never beheld a scene which so nearly realized my ideas of enchantment. The banks of the river as we proceeded, were rather less wild and interesting than I had expected.

At Ogdensburgh, which is said to belong principally to Mr. Parish, who is endeavouring to settle a tract of land in the vicinity, we breakfasted at a large stone tavern which he has built, and then prepared in high spirits to descend the Rapids. For this purpose, we hired a long boat, which would accommodate the whole party, and which with 25 people on board, and their baggage, and 25 barrels of flour for ballast, was said to draw only eight inches water. We set sail about 10 o'clock, and in four hours and a few minutes, had been carried 48 miles down the stream, in the course of which we had passed the first three rapids, one of which

was half a mile, another two, and another about nine miles long. We always discerned them at a great distance, the dashing of the white foam resembling the tossing of the ocean; and as we approached them, our velocity gradually increased till we were carried by the stream at the rate of 14 or 15 miles an hour. When we got into the middle of the surges, our velocity, though still great, was checked by the eddies and by waves which frequently struck the bottom of the boat with great force, and from the appearance of the troubled waters, it seemed difficult for a boat to live. The confidence of the boatmen, however, checked our apprehensions, and our ladies behaved extremely well. The most alarming appearance was that of pointed rocks, which, from the transparency of the water, seemed to rise almost to the surface, and to threaten inevitable destruction. As I stood on the bow, I saw combinations of rocks towards which we were hurried with impetuosity, and which it seemed impossible our boat could pass without striking. In some of the Rapids, there were channels called *lost* channels, from the accidents which had happened in them, and into which our boatmen had to guard against our being carried. The river varies from three-fourths of a mile to two

miles in width, and although there are no mountains near, (the green mountains of Vermont were often in sight at a distance,) the white pine and cedar gave a picturesque appearance to its banks, and a resemblance to the river views in Norway or Sweden. One of the most singular sensations we experienced, was that of sailing many miles perceptibly *down hill.* Soon after passing the third rapid, the St. Lawrence expanded into a wide lake, the lake of St. Francis. There we lost our wind and stream, and were obliged to have recourse to our oars. The evening was now closing in, and a violent thunder-storm brought on a premature darkness, but the ladies enlivened us by singing the Canadian boat song, "Row brothers row, &c." which transported me to ——, where I have so often heard it.

About 10 o'clock we made towards a light which we saw on the shore, and landed a committee of inquiry, who reported so unfavourably of the miserable cabin from which it issued, that we determined to proceed, tired as the ladies were. Our scouts informed us, that they had found in the cabin, four or five Canadians, dancing to a sleeping fiddler, whose music ceased when they awoke him. A mile or two further, we found a better

house, where we called the family up, and with the help of our well-bred and efficient ladies, some gunpowder tea they had with them, some milk that was obtained from a cow that was awakened for the purpose, and the services of my servant, we sat down, a party of twenty, to a tolerably comfortable meal. When the ladies were about to retire, they found there was no door to their chamber, but they supplied the deficiency with a sheet. The gentlemen lay on blankets, in a sort of barrack-room; but I found the fleas so annoying, that I got up, and sat at the door of the house. I should have enjoyed the clear night after the storm, and the placid lake, if I had been less tired and sleepy; but wearied as I was, I was very glad to see the day break. Our gunpowder tea made its appearance again at five o'clock; after which we embarked, passing the remaining rapids, (the Cedars, the Split Rock, and the Cascades, as they are called,) and the mouth of the Ottawa River; and being becalmed in the fine lake, St. Louis, we arrived at night at La Chine, about 150 miles from Ogdensburgh, which we had left the preceding morning. As we approached La Chine, the houses and villages on the banks of the river and

lake, assumed a much more comfortable appearance—but of the Canadians in my next letter.

Some of our party staid all night at La Chine; but several of my friends and myself proceeded to Montreal, in a wretched vehicle; for which I was obliged to apologize to my American companions, by reminding them, that it was only a colonial—and that there were parts of our colonial system which none of us attempted to defend. We met some miserable caleches, of which I was ashamed, even as colonials; and I was compelled to repress the rising smiles of the party, by suggesting to their recollection, that after all, we were still in *America* and not in England. After riding nine miles, almost in the dark, we entered the fauxbourgh of Montreal, and jolted along a narrow street, a mile long; which my companions, accustomed to the spacious streets in America, supposed to be an alley, though it is the principal street. At the end of it we stopped at the Mansion-house, a very fine inn; and here I was not ashamed to welcome my companions to the dominions of his Britannic Majesty.

The Mansion-house is situated on the banks of the St. Lawrence, which its handsome apartments overlook; and which is here almost two

and a half miles broad. The windows of our room open upon a fine terrace, from which there is a charming and extensive view of the distant country. In the evening, this is a very favourite promenade, with the inmates of the house.

I am delighted to sit down once more under the British flag, which is waving over us; for Lord Dalhousie, the Governor, is staying in the house; and I am gratified by the sight of our own red coats, who have mounted guard.

Letter XXIII.

Montreal, 23rd August, 1822.

I HAVE just received your letter of the 19th ult. The uncommon cold of the last winter, and the unusual heat of the present summer, appear, in some degree, to have extended to you. Individually, I am not sorry to have the opportunity of experiencing, in the course of the year I have passed in America, a range of temperature, beyond even the ordinary limits of the country. The great and sudden changes, however, continue to strike me more than even extremes of cold and heat, so much beyond those we experience in England. After a week of the hottest weather they have had here this summer, (the other morning the thermometer was currently reported, and I believe, correctly, to be 98° of Fahrenheit, in the shade,) thin clothes of every description have disappeared, and last night, when I sat down to write to you, I found it too cold to proceed. The oppressive heat of the summer here and in the United States, is alleviated in some degree, by the liberal use of ice. We see

it in every form, and use it with the utmost profusion. The butter regularly comes to table, with a fine thick transparent piece of ice upon it; large pieces are generally floating in the water-jugs at dinner, or in your chambers, and it is often handed round on plates, in small pieces, to be used at dinner. The plan of preserving ice in this country and the United States is much more simple than with us; and I have no doubt more judicious, as notwithstanding the superior heat of the climate, it is so much more cheap and plentiful. Almost every farmer has his ice-house.

I have already given you some account of our sail down the rapids. It was extremely pleasant; and although we were becalmed for many hours, we descended on the St. Lawrence in less than two days, a distance which the boatmen seldom re-ascend in less than nine or ten, even with the occasional assistance of locks, at the side of the river. I am surprised we hear so little of this noble river. It is computed, I do not know with what accuracy, to discharge one-half more water than the Mississippi. Its depth, between Ogdensburgh and La Chine, 130 miles, seldom varies more than three feet, in the course of a year; while

the Mississippi was falling one foot each day, when I ascended it. The St. Lawrence is much clearer than the Mississippi, and its current much more rapid; so rapid, indeed, that the Lake Erie steam-boat, which has been in operation for three years, has not been able to ascend from Black Rock to Lake Erie more than twice without twelve oxen. The banks of the St. Lawrence do not present the rich and beautiful cultivation which adorns the banks of the Mississippi in Louisiana; but if they do not exhibit extensive and highly-dressed plantations of sugar and cotton, or the magnificent forest-trees, peculiar to the south and west, the prospect is never blackened by a range of miserable slave-cabins, or gangs of negroes working like cattle in the field. I cannot describe to you the pleasure I derive from contrasting the various scenes through which I am passing, with each other; they have so many peculiar features, and all so highly interesting.

It is remarkable, that, rising from the same Table-land, and so intimately connected by intersecting branches, which occasionally flow into each other during periods of inundation, the Mississippi and the St. Lawrence present the most striking contrast, in their general features. Many of these are mentioned in the observa-

tions I will copy for you from Darby, but others, not much less interesting, might be added.

" The Mississippi is turbid, in many parts to muddiness; the St. Lawrence unusually limpid. One river is composed of almost an unbroken chain of lakes; the other, in all its vast expanse, has no lakes that strictly deserve the name. Annually the Mississippi overleaps its bed, and overwhelms the adjacent shores to a great extent; an accidental rise of three feet, in the course of fifty years, is considered an extraordinary swell of the waters of St. Lawrence; this circumstance has occurred the present season, for the first time within the lapse of forty years past. The Mississippi, flowing from north to south, passes through innumerable climes; whilst its rival, winding from its source, in a south-east direction, to near north latitude 41°, turns gradually north-east, and again flows into its original climate of ice and snow. The Mississippi, before its final discharge into the Gulf of Mexico, divides into a number of branches, having their separate egress; the St. Lawrence, imperceptibly expands to a wide bay, which finally opens into the gulf of the same name. The banks of the Mississippi present a level, scarce rising

above the superior surface of that stream; those of St. Lawrence, by a gentle acclivity, exhibit the opposing sides of an elegant basin. Much of the surface watered by the Mississippi, is a region of grass, where few shrubs or trees rise to break the monotony of the face of the earth; the shores that bound the St. Lawrence, when in a state of nature, are covered with an almost continuous and impervious forest. And lastly, though rather an accidental than a natural distinction, the Mississippi rolls its mighty volume, swelled by more than a thousand rivers, through one empire; and is, as I once before observed, the largest stream on this globe, whose entire course lies within one sovereignty. The St. Lawrence is, for more than 1300 miles, a national limit, and, as such, marked with the sanguinary points which distinguish the bounds of rival power."

We arrived here on the 10th, as you would learn from my last letter. On the 11th, I was awakened by the matin bells of the different Catholic churches; and while my steam-boat companions went to see the *Lions*, I set out to deliver my letters of introduction, and soon found that the mornings of the ensuing week would be entirely occupied by commercial

engagements, and the evenings with dinner-parties; for the merchants are very hospitable. On the 12th, I was left alone; all the party at the Mansion-house, with whom I was intimate, having proceeded to Quebec. On their return, in a few days, I was a little more at leisure, and accompanied them to the nunneries. The Grey Sisters admitted us; but, "the Black "Sisters," expressed their regret, in the politest French, that their devotional engagements would prevent them from seeing us till the following Thursday.

On the 17th, there was a grand levee held here, (in a spacious room in our inn,) as Lord and Lady Dalhousie, with their suite, were paying a short visit to Montreal. I attended, and was duly presented. The Governor and Countess gave great satisfaction; but I hear many apprehensions expressed, that his Lordship will not incur the responsibility which the Duke of Richmond is said never to have hesitated to assume, in acting first, and sending for instructions afterwards. It was about this time last year that the Duke left this house, a few days before his melancholy death up the country. I was told, that on the day he had fixed for his return, he was brought into the house a corpse; and on the subsequent day, which had been appointed for his levee, a large

concourse of the gentlemen of Montreal attended his coffin to the vessel which carried him away. His loss is deeply regretted. Sir Peregrine Maitland, his son-in-law, the Governor of Upper Canada, and Lady Maitland, are much respected; and, I understand, are doing much for the promotion of religion in the newly settled districts in their neighbourhood.

The Bishop of Canada preached at the church I attended on Sunday; and as I was returning home, a veteran soldier of General Wolfe's army was pointed out, in his scarlet uniform.

I have had a few rides into the country in the neighbourhood, which is very beautiful. I have also met most of the principal merchants at dinner during my stay. On these occasions, I am always gratified by the allusions I continually hear to home: "At home, we do so and so;" "Mr. ——'s carriage is just arrived from home;" "Here are some biscuits from home, fresh from Threadneedle-street, where I always get them."

In the streets, however, there were many peculiarities to remind us that we were not at home. More than three-fourths of the inhabitants are said to be Catholics, and the bells of the cathedral are never at rest. The priests, who are the seigniors of the island, are very rich; but they

are said to be charitable, moral, and by no means luxurious. Our young friends would be amused by the numerous dog-carts, the dogs in gig or tandem harness in every part of the town, and by the caleches of the last century, which would serve as a foil for a north of England *shandradan*. A considerable number of Indians are usually walking the streets with mocassins for sale; and I saw several on the river side, a mile distant, in wigwams, of which their birch canoe formed the principal part. The town is most agreeably situated; and there is an air of industry and animation in the inhabitants; and yet, occasionally, the narrow streets and iron window-shutters excite a sensation of gloominess, of which I cannot readily divest myself till I return to our cheerful inn, where the arrival and departure of steam-boats occasion a constant succession of guests. Our party at table, which dwindled to six, rose, two days since, suddenly to sixty, all fugitives, as those who are not on business seldom allot above two days to this part of their tour. As the friends with whom I am most intimate, have been detained since their return from Quebec, by the want of a steam-boat, I have been very well off, having access to their three drawing-rooms, with an agreeable female party in each. Our host,

although a Londoner, and adopting London hours, accommodates himself by pursuing the American plan of compelling us to eat at a common table; but the style of the house is admirable, and we can obtain private sitting-rooms. One of those occupied by our party is that which Lord Selkirk usually occupied while here, and often recalls him to my recollection. All I hear, and I have conversed with many of both parties on the subject, has only served to confirm my previous impressions with respect to the treatment which he received; in some instances too, in quarters where it was least excusable, and at the hands of those from whom every British subject was entitled to demand impartiality.—In an hour, we are going on board the Swiftsure steam-boat, for Quebec, and I am glad to find that several of my acquaintances will be of the party.

Steam-boat, on the St. Lawrence, August 28th, 1820.—I began this letter at Montreal, on board the Swiftsure steam-boat. This is probably the finest steam-boat which has been built; and I was proud to see her under the British flag; the Americans readily conceded her superior claims. The style of living and attendance, is more like that of a good hotel, at the west end of London, than any thing I have seen

on this side of the Atlantic, notwithstanding the handsome style of some of the American hotels, and the comfort of some of the boarding-houses. There is an ice-house on board, and the owner supplies her table with grapes and peaches from his own garden.

I often feel a strange sensation, when gliding down the American rivers, in these floating palaces; and have sometimes turned away almost ashamed, when bearing down in all this ostentatious luxury, on the poor half-naked Indians, in their birch canoes, struggling to reach the shores, on which their fathers roamed fearless and independent.

We left Montreal about noon, on the 22nd, and for 60 miles averaged 13 miles an hour. The banks of the river, which is from one and a-half to three miles broad, though too flat to be romantic, till you approach within 30 miles of Quebec, are interesting, from the white cottages, which seem to form one continued village, and the neat churches, of which two or three are often in sight at once; the spires are usually covered with tin, and have a very dazzling appearance.

The cottages have originally been placed at equal distances from each other, the farms having been laid off, with a front of a given

length to the river; but the Canadian custom of dividing the farm between the children of the deceased, (more congenial with their indolence than striking deeper into the woods,) has broken uniformity by repeated, and often inconvenient subdivisions. A mass of deep woods usually bounds the farms, at the distance of a few acres from the river.

The navigation on Lake St. Peter is so difficult, that we were obliged to lie at anchor all night. On the 23d, we passed the Three Rivers, a handsome town, on the three mouths of a respectable river; and at five o'clock in the evening arrived at Quebec, 180 miles from Montreal. As we approached the town, we passed close under the plains of Abraham, and the precipitous rocks which our gallant hero scaled; and after straining our eyes to reach the fortifications, which seem to frown destruction to any hostile force which might have the temerity to approach, we were pleased, on looking round us, to find ourselves in the middle of *British* shipping. I cannot tell you with what satisfaction I renewed my acquaintance with old Cumberland brigs, which in England I should not condescend to notice. As soon as we landed, an English friend and I procured a caleche, and drove off to the Falls of

Montmorenci, nine miles distant, which we reached just at sunset. Our beautiful summer evening closed in upon us before we had seen the Falls from the most favourable situation. The full moon, however, soon rose, and threw her light upon the broken torrent, which precipitates itself from a height of 220 feet, while the dark shadows of the rocks and trees which overhang the waters below, contributed greatly to heighten the grandeur of the scene. Our conductor was an interesting little pleasant girl, nine years of age, whose pretty French was most agreeable. The ride home was delightful, the full moon "walking in brightness," and throwing her horizontal rays across the river as she rose. The fortresses of Quebec were constantly in sight, and did, indeed, seem impregnable by human force. It would be difficult even to imagine a more commanding site; and I could not help admiring the skill with which the French had chosen their northern post, which they evidently intended to connect with New Orleans, by a series of intermediate forts, which might confine the British within a narrow strip on the Atlantic. Reflections on their system of policy were the more interesting to me, from having so lately visited the southern extremity of their trans-Atlantic dominions,

and having in the interval passed through so many of the immense forests which lie between them. We stopped at Malhiot's, the best inn in Quebec; but an unwillingness to intrude on the present occupiers of my bed decided me to prefer a chair, in which I sat till after three o'clock, looking on the beautiful moonlight prospect before me. At five o'clock, we set out in a caleche, on our way to Lorette, an Indian village of the Hurons, nine miles from Quebec. They have a neat Catholic church, and speak French; but from what I could gather from the chief, they have no land, and support themselves by fishing and hunting. In that case, they are not so well off as my friends the Choctaws and Cherokees, or the Caughnawagas, whom we saw nine miles from Montreal, who have a handsome Catholic church; and cultivate the land.

In the course of our ride, we were often reminded of home, by the rich little meadows, and thickly settled country on every side. The distant mountains were very fine. We reached our inn at nine o'clock, having accomplished after six o'clock the preceding night, what usually occupies two days. After breakfast, I devoted myself to business, and declining an invitation from Judge ——, to accompany him

to the "military mess" to dinner, I set off to the Falls of the Chaudiere, seven miles distant, intending to drink tea, on our return, with a gentleman who lives on the way. It was so dark, however, when we reached his house, five or six miles from Quebec, and had begun to rain so heavily, that we thankfully accepted his offer of a bed. The Falls of the Chaudiere were highly interesting, even after Niagara. In the deep seclusion of a thick wood, the river, nearly 250 yards wide, precipitates itself 100 feet into a rocky channel, which appears to have been rent asunder by some dreadful convulsion of nature, by which the rock has been broken into huge masses, that combine with the surrounding objects to impart an air of most magnificent wildness to this extraordinary scene. On our return, we had several fine views of Quebec down the river.

The next day we went into town early, and I was again engaged in business till afternoon, when I walked round the fortifications with my old military friend ——, and his wife. At five o'clock, I went to dine at Judge ——'s, where I met several gentlemen, and where I staid till it was nearly time to embark in the steam-boat, which was to set sail at midnight for Montreal.

I think you will be amused by the following extract from the journal of one of my fellow travellers, who left me at Montreal to visit Quebec; and on his return, found on board the steam-boat one of the Indian chiefs, belonging to the village of Loretto, to which I have alluded:—

"We have on board one of the Indian chiefs, who walked in the procession at Loretto, and his daughter, a genteel young woman. He speaks the English language. He said he knew General Washington, and had dined with him twice; and that the General had made him a present of a very good horse. 'I told General Washington, said he, that your horse; he tell me, to call one of his aids, and he say, Col. Trumbull, write order for Vincent, (that my name,) for that horse; so I keep him. He very good horse.' The story of the horse was thus explained: Vincent commanded a body of Indians, at the capture of Burgoyne, and was made a prisoner with that General. The horse had been taken by him from the Americans; and hence he called him not his own, but Washington's. This information I obtained from others on board. Taking me aside, he said, 'I saw you Lorette.'—C. 'I

was there, and saw you walking at the head of the procession.'—V. 'Yes, I walk.'—C. 'What was that the priest carried.'—V. 'What religion you.'—C. 'I am a Protestant.'—V. 'Then you very good man; priest carry image Virgin Mary. This is all nonsense. He tell us poor Indians, we must believe, or be condemned, that Virgin Mary was taken up into heaven, soul and body: you believe that?'—C. 'I do not understand it: what is your opinion?'—V. 'I do not believe; I do not read that in Scripture. Priest tell us poor ignorant Indians, that we must worship her, and saints, and images. I do'nt find that in Scripture neither; but I read, 'Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and Him only shalt thou worship. Thou shalt make no graven image, nor worship them:' that my belief. I think it wicked to worship images; but God is merciful. Priest tell us ignorant Indians, we must have mass; fetch out purgatory our fathers, dead hundred years ago; and we pay sometimes one, sometimes two dollars each mass. Brother, you believe there is a purgatory?'—C. 'I have no knowledge of such a place: what is your opinion?'—V. 'I do'nt believe; and tell you my opinion: I believe, if our heart be not purge in this life, it never will be purge

On my assenting to his doctrine, he asked, 'Where do you think is hell.' I told him I did not know: then added he, 'I'll tell you where I think it is. It is in the sun.' I felt some surprise at all this; and asking him where he had been educated, he replied, at Hampshire. He then asked me to drink a glass of grog; and on my declining, he bid me good-bye, and walked to the forecastle, to sip it by himself. On observing a young Indian on board, very attentive to the Chief's daughter, I told Vincent I supposed this man was courting her; on which he replied, with much warmth, "No, Him Mohawk."

I do not know why he regarded a connection with the Mohawks as degrading; for they were members of the celebrated confederation of the Six Nations (the Iroquois Confederation.) The other members were the Oneidas, the Onondagas, the Cayugas, the Senecas, and the Tuscaroras.

Letter XXIV.

Concord, New Hampshire, 2nd Sept. 1820.

We left Quebec at 10 o'clock in the morning of the 25th, Saturday, in the steam-boat, and at 6 o'clock on Sunday morning, found ourselves at Sorel, 50 miles below Montreal, contrary winds having impeded us. In this village I found a Protestant Church, which was more than I expected, although the spires of the Catholic Churches are seldom out of sight.

In the party I left in the steam-boat, was Mr. ——, one of the passengers in the Courier, and about 100 Scotch emigrants, many of them with families of little children.

It was really affecting to see my expatriated countrymen and countrywomen just landed from the vessel in which I had seen them arrive the day before, and passing up to the country which was to be their future home.

Some of them appeared disappointed already, and few seemed to have any idea of the difficulties of converting the wilderness into a fruitful field. I felt that I had great cause for

thankfulness, on contrasting my own situation (a transient visitor in a foreign land) with that of these poor exiles whom necessity had driven from their native hills for ever.

> "Forced from their homes, a melancholy train,
> "To traverse climes beyond the western main."

More than 10,000 have already passed through Quebec this year on their way to the land of promise. Many, I have no doubt, will find themselves amply rewarded for their sacrifices; but it is much to be regretted, that the inducements to emigrate to Canada, which are considerable, should be so much exaggerated as almost to insure disappointment. Our Government is not sufficiently careful on this point; and those who want their friends about them colour too highly. An Irish emigrant with whom I conversed on board the boat said, "some of 'em indeed sent us an account which I now see to be true, but we liked believing the other best." "However, *I'll* not *desave* my countrymen, though sure I'm not going to publish my own distress *nather*, but I'll tell part of the truth."

As it rained in the afternoon, we mustered a tolerable band among the emigrants, on board the steam-boat, who played and sang many old Scotch tunes, but the situation of

the performers rendered the effect too melancholy to be pleasing.

I obtained a quiet room in a little Canadian inn at Sorel, which is a small town quite in the woods. The church was a poor old wooden building, very different from the respectable Catholic churches in Canada, and the handsome American churches which we usually found in the smallest village. Lady Dalhousie, who was staying at Sorel till the Earl's return from Upper Canada, two officers, and 15 or 20 British soldiers, formed half the congregation.

In order to secure our reaching the steamboat on Lake Champlain in time, I had engaged a caleche to start with us at 2 o'clock on Monday morning, and intended to proceed by the river Sorel, to St. John's on the Lake.

My servant, however, exhibiting some symptoms of intermittent fever, or fever and ague, as it is always called in this country, and formerly was in Great Britain, I determined to wait for the morning steam-boat, and to go round by Montreal, taking our chance of reaching Lake Champlain in time. We arrived at Montreal at sunset, and crossed the St. Lawrence 3 or 4 miles to Longueil in a canoe by starlight; there we obtained a stage to Laprairie and St. John's, where we arrived at 2 o'clock

in the morning. We sailed about 8 o'clock for Burlington, in the steam-boat, on board which, we found many of those who had accompanied us from Quebec. The sail through the Narrows was uninteresting, and for some hours we saw nothing but flat banks half-cleared to the depth of perhaps an acre into the adjoining wood. About 12 o'clock, we passed the 45th degree of latitude, the boundary line between Canada and the United States. A fort which the Americans built here at a great expense, (I believe since the war) as they conceived within their lines, has been decided by the Commissioners to fall within ours; the pathetic appeals of the American astronomers to the inexorable stars notwithstanding. It is accordingly become ours by the terms of the treaty, to the mortification, as you will readily conceive, of the United States.

I quitted his Majesty's dominions with reluctance, and felt some regret on bidding a final adieu to the Canadians; since, indolent as they are, and averse to improvement, there is a simplicity and civility in their manners, which pleased me the more, perhaps, in contrast with the cold demeanour of their neighbours. That coldness, indeed, has been much exaggerated, and never indicated, as far as my experience went, an

indisposition to oblige. The Canadian peasants, or the "habitans," all speak French; and many of them nothing else, so that some knowledge of the language is absolutely necessary to a traveller, who deviates at all from the high road.

Soon after we had passed the lines, the Lake began to expand, and the green mountains of Vermont on the one side, and some lofty mountains, in the State of New York, on the other, presented several beautiful views; but no single view, I think, equal to the scenery of our lakes. In the afternoon, we passed Plattsburgh, (only too memorable in recent history,) and at seven o'clock, arrived at Burlington, on the Vermont side. Here I found that the Boston stage did not run the following morning, and that I could return in time for it the succeeding day, after visiting Crown Point and Ticonderoga, of no small historical interest, and Lake George, which is considered the most beautiful lake in America. I accordingly continued in the steam-boat, (where my servant was enjoying a better bed than he would have found on shore,) till two o'clock in the morning, when we arrived at Ticonderoga. I sat in the kitchen till five o'clock, when I breakfasted; and leaving my servant in bed, crossed the narrows of Lake

Champlain, and walked two miles to Lake George, where, with some difficulty, I obtained a boat to take me a few miles up the Lake, which I believe is the most beautiful in North America, and more resembles ours than any I have yet seen. On my return, I visited the fort at Ticonderoga, and the various points in the neighbourhood, which you will recollect as connected with the name of Burgoyne, and reached my inn, at three o'clock, very much tired, and ready for dinner. The inn was a small country tavern; but, as usual in America, not destitute of books. Among others, I found Doddridge's Rise and Progress; other religious books; and the Poems of Young and Walter Scott.

At five o'clock, the steam-boat returned from Whitehall, and set us down at Burlington, 45 miles from our inn, at twelve o'clock, having carried us 90 miles since seven o'clock the preceding evening, and enabled me to see several objects of great interest in the hours which would otherwise have been spent in Burlington.

3d Sept.—I arrived here last night, and proceed to Boston to-morrow. This is the capital of New Hampshire, and a neat little town, with a handsome Presbyterian church, and rather an imposing state-house.

It is a beautiful autumnal day, and the windows of my comfortable inn, though in the middle of the town, command a pretty rural view. There being no Episcopal church, I attended the Presbyterian. Two peculiarities struck me there; one, that of obliging candidates for church membership to stand forward, into the face of the congregation, during the solemn ceremony of admission; the other, that of reading aloud the contents of various slips of paper, sent by individuals, requesting the prayers of the church that the loss of their fathers, brothers, or other relatives, might be sanctified to their eternal interests. This afternoon, we had an excellent sermon from the Professor of a College, in the State of Maine, and a collection for a society for preparing young men for the ministry. In my bed-room are two large volumes of Scott's Bible. I observe the other volumes in other rooms in the house.

Letter XXV.

Andover, Massachusetts, 4th Sept. 1820.

We left Burlington, a neat town on Lake Champlain, at five o'clock, with eleven passengers, in a crowded stage. Our road lay almost due east across the State of Vermont, and was in a high degree, beautiful and romantic. We breakfasted at a moderate inn at Richmond, where some of the passengers, on their way from Canada, congratulated themselves that they were in the land of American breakfast and tea-tables again, where meat, and fish, seldom fail to make their appearance. The five o'clock dinner-hour, at the excellent inn at Montreal, and the genteel tea-table, with cake only, were severely commented upon by some New England passengers, who had been accustomed to earlier hours and more substantial fare. At one o'clock, we reached Montpelier, where the civility of our host gave me a favourable impression of a New England landlord.—Montpelier is the capital of Vermont; and although small, appears, like the small towns

of the other States, to have its church and minister's house, with the usual complement of medical and legal practitioners. With respect to the latter, I am told that they abound most extravagantly throughout the United States; and the embarrassments of the times appears to give them full employment. In some of the States, disputes, originating in titles, deduced from French or Spanish grants, involve the new settlers in perpetual litigation. At Mobile, a bookseller, who had brought an excellent collection of books from New York, assured me that he sold at least ten law books for one of any other description; and at Washington Mr. L— told me, while showing me the library in the capitol, that the number of law-books which were poured into it was a real grievance. We left Montpelier early in the afternoon; and at Bury, a few miles farther, my servant's fever and ague came on most unseasonably, and obliged us to leave the stage. We have now learnt how to treat the complaint; viz. by the liberal use of calomel, bark, and wine, having for many months been scarcely a day without finding some member of a family suffering under it, and in many instances reduced to great debility, from its continuance for six, twelve, or fifteen months.

In two or three hours, my servant was well enough to proceed; and as no stage would pass for several days, we resolved to make an effort to overtake the one we had quitted, which stopped for a few hours 40 miles distant. We accordingly set off in a Jersey waggon and pair, with an engagement from our host that his driver should reach the stage before four o'clock in the morning, the hour it was to start. After driving rapidly for some time, night came on just as we entered the gulf, or narrow pass, between the Green Mountains, from which *Vermont* derives its name; and it was soon so dark that we could see no trace of the road, except at very distant intervals, where there happened to be some white object. I walked before the horses, but literally could not see my hand, and twice fell off the side of the road. After proceeding for two hours, at the rate of about two miles an hour, we passed the gulf, and saw a light at a distance, which we had hoped was the inn where we had intended to sleep two hours. We soon found we were mistaken; and a very heavy shower of rain induced us to accept most cheerfully the offer of shelter for the night, in this poor cottage. The family were all sleeping in the kitchen; but they made up a sort of bed for the invalid, and I slept on the

buffalo-skin which covered the seat of the Jersey waggon.

As attempting to reach the stage, was now out of the question, we did not start again till five o'clock in the morning. We breakfasted at Randolph, a few miles distant, where the landlord and his daughters waited upon us very civilly; and we then proceeded to Sharon, 12 miles farther. Here our landlord assured us we should not find much difficulty in obtaining conveyances from the stage-houses, all the way to Boston, at nearly the same rate as the stage, in consideration of our having started in their line of stages; and, as this would be more convenient for my invalid servant, and would give us a better opportunity of seeing the country, I was, in some degree reconciled to the necessity of being a little longer on the road. Here we parted with our first driver, who, though a Yankee and in New England, for some time refused half a dollar, which I pressed upon him, in consideration of his fatigue and exertion the preceding night. This was the first time we had given the driver any thing, since our arrival in America, as it is not the custom. From Sharon, where we obtained a fresh Jersey waggon, we proceeded to Hanover; and, on this stage, crossed the Connecticut river, and passed

from Vermont into New Hampshire. I was delighted with Vermont, which well deserves its name; and I do not think I have had a more interesting ride, of the same length, since my arrival, except, perhaps, in the Valley of the Shenandoah. Wood crowned mountains, with deep rocky defiles, secluded vallies, into which cultivation has yet scarcely penetrated, luxuriant meadows, and beautiful streams are thrown into fresh combinations at every step; and while the variety of the landscape delights the eye, its extent is seldom sufficient to fatigue it. As I rode along, I found it difficult to believe that I was in one of the old States, every thing wore such an air of youth and freshness. Even from those earlier settlements, which recall to memory events of deep historic interest, the eye wanders to mountains and forests, where nature is still arrayed in her primeval dress.—I think I never alluded to the different impression which wood, as a feature in a landscape, conveys to an Englishman and an American. It is a striking proof of the power of association. In the eye of an Englishman, (to whom the sight of wood usually suggests ideas of shade or shelter, of rural beauty, or of such sylvan solitudes only as are sedulously preserved to afford protection to game;—to add variety to

park-scenery, or to contrast with rich cultivation, in their immediate vicinity,) the trees which generally cover the American mountains, even to their summits, detract somewhat from their sublimity. In the imagination of an American, on the contrary, they invest them with whatever of dreary desolation, desert magnificence, and savage nature he has learned from infancy to associate with his interminable forests, and with the wild beasts, and wilder Indians, which inhabit them.

With him woodland scenery, even of a milder character, partakes of the wild or the sublime; and if mere cultivation be not beauty, it is closely allied to it in his imagination; and from its intimate connection with utility, which enters largely into his idea of beauty, it awakens many kindred associations.

Every acre, reclaimed from the wilderness, is a conquest "of civilized man over uncivilized nature;" an addition to those resources which are to enable his country to stretch her moral empire to her geographical limits, and to diffuse over a vast continent the physical enjoyments, the social advantages, the political privileges, and the religious institutions, the extension of which is identified with all his visions of her future greatness.

If you ask which is the best route to a distant town or settlement, you will often be told to keep such a road, as it is as level as a board, and will lead you through *so many* little towns; that the other road is very good to be sure, but it goes through a rough country, with nothing to be seen but woods and mountains, and a few scattered farms, or plantations, as they call them, that term in America being employed to signify not trees, but cultivated land of any kind, whether under cotton, rice, or grain. I soon found that their *rough country* was almost invariably romantic and picturesque, and chose my route accordingly. Indeed, I could not help telling them that I did not think that either they or we could have pleasure in looking at their recent towns, rising on every side on the ruins of British capital and American credit—monuments in the western wilderness of fatal credulity on the part of *my* countrymen, and a lamentable abuse of it on the part of *theirs*.

The Green-Mountain Boys appear to be as free and independent as in the times which Mrs. Grant describes, and perhaps a little more enlightened. We found schools in every township, and there are various colleges in the State. I scarcely saw an inn without a bible in the parlour, and there were generally other books. At

one place, where we changed horses, was the Life of Harriet Newell, (a present from the minister to the innkeeper's daughter,) Whitfield's Sermons, Young, &c.; at another, the Poems of Walter Scott, the Pastor's Fireside, Blair's Lectures, Paley's Moral Philosophy, Darwin's Botanic Garden, Grammar, English Dictionary; and this in *one* room, at a country inn.

As we crossed the Connecticut river, I asked the driver, a young man, about eighteen years of age, whether we should find the New Hampshire people as civil as the Green-Mountain Boys. He said, "No; you won't find them quite as civil, and certainly not so enlightened, as their land is so poor in general, they have not the same opportunities of improvement, although there are schools in every district, and every one can read."

From Hanover, in New Hampshire, on the Connecticut river, we proceeded to Enfield, to sleep, passing, on our way, the village of Lebanon, and the settlement of the Shaking Quakers. This settlement is remarkable for the beautiful neatness and simplicity of the houses, and the rich cultivation of the adjoining farms.—The dress of this singular sect, of whom we saw several, differs little from the common quaker dress. Of their principles or peculiarities I

could learn little at our inn, two miles distant, except that dancing forms a part of their public worship; (some of the old women, whom I saw through the windows cutting out garments in their spectacles, exhibited few symptoms of the vivacity which would appear to characterize the sect;) that they profess celibacy, abstraction from the world, and community of goods; are very industrious, and very unpopular, and are, perhaps, on that account charged with being grasping and avaricious. I see, however, in the newspapers a handsome contribution from them to the sufferers by the fire at Troy, which ought to be mentioned. The sect is said to have been founded by Ann Lee, commonly called Mother Ann, who emigrated, I was informed, from Manchester, in England, forty years since. We slept at Enfield, and in the morning (2nd Sept.) proceeded on our route, after breakfasting at six o'clock, to avoid detention on the way. As this was one of our first New England breakfasts, and seems to be a common one, I will give you our bill of fare at your request: toast, bread and butter, biscuits, coffee, and Ham, broiled chickens, potatoes, eggs, honey, cider; charge, 16½d English. Tea was nearly the same, with the addition of cheese; and cider is never forgotten, morning or evening.

We reached Salisbury about noon; and, changing horses, arrived at Concord, a neat town, the capital of New Hampshire, early in the afternoon, my servant daily recovering, with the aid of calomel and bark. Here we decided to remain till this morning, yesterday being Sunday; and my servant being quite well today, we set off in an open waggon, at three o'clock, well wrapped up; we reached our breakfast house, 19 miles distant, at six o'clock, when we changed our vehicle; and passing through Londonderry, arrived here, 43 miles from Concord, at one o'clock.

We passed from New Hampshire into Massachusetts, a few miles from this place, and without much regret; for although there were some beautiful meadows on the banks of the Merrimack, and bold mountain scenery, the part of the State, through which we passed, was uninteresting, compared with Vermont. We *saw* less civility also, in bows and curtsies on the road; but this might be the effect of accident, and our landlords and drivers were universally accommodating and respectful. Those with whom I have conversed in both States, seem anxious to claim a peculiar affinity with "the old country," and put forth high pretensions to a closer assimilation to her than the

other States, in manners, sentiments, and institutions. The arrival of fresh intelligence respecting the Queen is looked for with as much impatience as in our provincial coffee-rooms.

As I found I could not, in any case, reach Boston, 20 miles distant, till late to night, I determined to avail myself of a letter of introduction, from my missionary friend, Mr. Kingsbury, to the Professors of the Institution here. Accordingly, after writing to you till I thought their afternoon occupations would be over, I delivered my letter, addressed to the Reverend "The Professors," to Mr. ——, one of the four, who was just setting out with his wife to drink tea with another, and took me with him. Here I found eight or ten ladies, and several clergymen; and the conversation turned principally on the state of religion in the two countries, and the characteristics of the different States, through which I had recently passed.

After tea, we all adjourned to the chapel, as it was the first Monday in the month, the evening of which is very generally consecrated by many classes of Christians, in every quarter of the globe, to public prayers for the diffusion of the gospel, and the success of missionary

efforts. It is, therefore, an interesting evening in itself; but I felt particularly happy in the opportunity of spending it at this Institution, designed exclusively for the education of ministers, and the source from which the American Board of Missions has drawn, as I was informed, all its missionaries, who are now labouring among the natives of Asia, Africa, and the Islands of the Pacific, and among those who have a yet stronger claim, the aborigines of their country.

My missionary friends at Elliot spoke, with tears in their eyes of the pleasure with which they hailed the return of this evening, persuaded that then, at least, they lived in the memory of the dear friends, whose society they had for ever relinquished; and that they were uniting their prayers for the spread of the gospel with large numbers of devoted Christians, in every quarter of the globe. *

" In the evening, Father Marsveld, after a suitable discourse, offered up a fervent prayer for the prosperity of the work of God on earth, particularly among the heathen, the brethren having here followed the practice of several missionary societies in England and Holland, to meet for this purpose." —*Latrobe's Journal in South Africa.*

" *March* 6, 1820.—Being the first Monday of the month, we joined in spirit with the friends of missions throughout the world, in praying for the universal spread of the gospel." —*Campbell's Journal in South Africa.*

It is a fine establishment; and the handsome collegiate edifice, the spacious grounds, and the houses of the Professors, bear as ample testimony to the munificence, as the object of the Institution, to the piety of its founders. Though strict with respect to the doctrines held by the candidates for admission, a preference for any particular form of church government presents no difficulty; and Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Baptists, and Congregationalists, may here be initiated in those lessons of mutual charity, which will tend, at least, to extinguish prejudice and party spirit in after life.

It is a beautiful star-light night, and whilst looking out of my window on this quiet scene, where many who are now labouring in distant regions of the globe, first felt those ardent aspirings after extensive future usefulness, which prompted them to encounter the trials of a missionary life—where many are now preparing for the same honourable enterprise;

"Last Monday, we kept our first monthly concert of prayer on the Mount of Olives."—*King's Journal in the Holy Land.*

The Traveller last mentioned, who is now a missionary in Palestine, or Egypt, completed his education at the very Institution I am describing, and afterwards visited Paris, for the purpose of acquiring a more thorough knowledge of the Oriental languages.

I could not but contrast the privileges of a life, thus early and entirely dedicated to the noblest cause, with those of the most successful commercial, or political career; where the flame of piety, if not extinguished by the very atmosphere which surrounds it, is exposed to a thousand blasts, from which the religious zeal of the missionary is sheltered by his very situation.

END OF VOLUME FIRST.

LIVERPOOL:
PRINTED BY GEORGE SMITH, TITHEBARN-STREET.


00083390

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 04 April, 2016